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*Jeff Ambers &*

# THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Recording the Military Career of General Amherst  
in America from 1758 to 1763

*Edited with Introduction and Notes by*

J. CLARENCE WEBSTER

M.D., D. SC., LL. D., F.R.S.C.

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## GENERAL EDITOR'S FOREWORD

THE Journal of Jeffery Amherst was discovered, in 1925, by the late Lord Amherst, in a large collection of letters and documents which had been carefully assorted and labelled by Jeffery Amherst himself. For generations these priceless papers had remained undisturbed in Montreal House, Sevenoaks, Kent, and were only unearthed while preparations were being made for the removal of the contents of the house which had been sold by the family. It was the great privilege of Dr. J. Clarence Webster to examine this remarkable collection, so rich in material relating to the period of the Seven Year's War, in which Amherst played a prominent part in America. When Dr. Webster requested permission to have photostat copies made of the papers relating to Canada and the American Colonies, for the Public Archives, Ottawa, the late peer graciously gave his consent. At the same time he granted permission to publish this Journal as well as others which formed a part of the collection. Dr. Webster has already edited and published the following: *The Journal of William Amherst in America, 1758-1860*; *The Journal of William Amherst, Describing the Re-Capture of St. John's, Newfoundland, 1762*; *The Journal of John Montrésor's Expedition to Detroit, 1763*. Dr. Webster now presents that portion of Jeffery Amherst's Journal which records his American career.

The original Journal consists of eighteen small volumes, measuring about six and one-half by four inches, inscribed in his own hand-writing; most of these were originally done in pen and ink; portions, however, were made in pencil and afterward

## xii THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

written over in ink. The portion of the Journal now published commences with volume VIII, the first date being January 14, 1758. Amherst was then serving in Germany, and received the King's command to return to England and prepare for the expedition ordered to Louisbourg. The first seven volumes deal with that part of his career which is of little or no interest to students of American history. The Journal ends just prior to Amherst's departure for England, November, 1763. Parts of the Journal were copied from time to time and sent in dispatches to the Imperial Government in London, and such portions may be found among the State Papers in the Public Records Office.

The Journal of Jeffery Amherst, volumes VIII to XVIII, except for a few remarks relating to the weather and other matters of no importance, is now made public in complete form, and offers an interesting record of the military life of a celebrated Commander-in-Chief. The Journal is presented in a series of chapters which represent the original divisions of the Journal. Each volume was prefaced by a *résumé* of the contents, made by Amherst, in which the names of places visited, with the distances between them, are given. Amherst's spelling and punctuation are faulty. Commas, for instance, were frequently used at the ends of sentences, and new sentences generally lacked capital letters at the beginning. Many paragraphs are, therefore, a confused sequence of clauses, often difficult to analyse. In order that the text might be intelligible, Dr. Webster was compelled to make many changes in punctuation. The spelling he has scarcely altered, though it is frequently erratic. If all the mistakes and irregularities were removed, a wrong impression of the Journal would be created. Amherst's lack of an adequate early education is quite apparent, not only in the vagaries of his punctuation and spelling, but also in sentence struc-

## GENERAL EDITOR'S FOREWORD    xiii

ture and grammar, let alone the amenities of style. It is better, however, to leave these defects, rather than present a false picture. The daily jottings were made in the hurried life of a commanding officer, planning and executing military operations on a large scale, and constantly moving about. There were few opportunities for quiet, reflective study, let alone literary composition.

An interesting feature of Amherst's Journal is the great variety of details which it records. He takes time to interperse among the more important enterprises of his campaign such incidents as, the hanging of a deserter, the scalping of a sentry, notes on topography, unusual natural phenomena, records of visits to towns and hamlets, friendly calls on both humble and distinguished citizens, exchange of flags of truce, sending of despatches, the health of the regiments, homesickness among his troops and the making of spruce beer. Following a detailed order to one of the military Governors there will appear an expression of his personal grief over the loss of a valiant junior officer; jostling a despatch to London, or plans for the siege of an enemy fortification, one will encounter spicy comments on the lack of judgment, enterprise or some other practical virtue among his officers or men, and emphatic private judgments on a great variety of subjects. Altogether it is a unique document, and amid the crowding details there emerges Amherst himself, perhaps over cautious and deliberate, certainly nothing of the dashing commander, but at any rate a competent general, who knew what he was about and how to go about it, who was everywhere and always himself, certain of his plans and confident in his opinions.

Dr. Webster's long and intimate familiarity with the period enables him to gather together a large number of illustrations

## xiv THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

of first rate importance. Several of the maps and plans were those used by Amherst in his campaign, and comprise part of the data discovered in Montreal House. They are rather crude, and are evidently original drawings made by his engineers, or transcripts from published maps (mostly French) of the period. Supplementing these are rare portraits, caricatures and other contemporary illustrations of value to the historian. The frontispiece is a reproduction of a painting in the National Gallery, Ottawa, and is reproduced with the kind permission of the trustees. In addition to the Journal certain important tables are printed in the appendices, likewise the work of Amherst.

Dr. J. Clarence Webster, after a long medical experience in the universities of Scotland, Canada and the United States, has devoted himself continuously, during the past ten years to historical research. He has, with infinite care and excellent judgment, gathered together at his home in Shediac, New Brunswick, the largest private collection of Canadiana—paintings, engravings, historical works, manuscripts and correspondence—to be found in the Dominion. For two decades he has studied on both sides of the Atlantic, and harvested his treasures with unflagging zeal. Dr. Webster's chief interest has been the history of the Maritime Provinces. Representing these Provinces on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, he has been responsible for the marking, by tablet and cairn, of many national shrines, for the preservation of Fort Beauséjour as a National Park, and the inauguration of a similar scheme for Louisbourg. He has taken an active part in the establishment of an Archives Building for Nova Scotia, and a Historical Museum for New Brunswick, two institutions which will house an unsuspected wealth of material. The list of Dr. Webster's publications is extensive, covering medical and

## GENERAL EDITOR'S FOREWORD    xv

historical subjects, which evidence untiring research and a genius for taking pains. He has been honoured by universities and learned societies both at home and abroad, the latest tribute to his historical scholarship being a decoration from the Government of France.

LORNE PIERCE



## CHIEF EVENTS AND DATES IN THE JOURNAL

1758:

- Jan. 14. Received the King's orders, while on service in Germany, to return to England and prepare for the Cape Breton expedition.
- Feb. 26. Arrived in London.
- March 16. Sailed with Rodney, in the *Dublin*, from Portsmouth.
- May 28. Arrived at Halifax, meeting Boscawen coming out of the harbor with 157 vessels *en route* to Cape Breton.
- June 2. Anchored in Gabarus Bay.
- July 26. Louisbourg capitulated.
- Aug. 30. Sailed for Boston.
- Sept. 13. Arrived in Boston.
- 16. Began march with troops to Albany, N.Y.
- Oct. 3. Arrived at Albany.
- 12. Arrived at New York.
- Nov. 7. Arrived at Halifax.
- 9. Received his Commission as Commander-in-Chief in America.
- 20. Sailed for Boston.
- Dec. 12. Arrived in New York.

1759:

- April 9. Arrived at Philadelphia.
- May 3. Arrived at Albany.
- June 6. Arrived at Fort Edward.
- 25. Arrived at Lake George.

## xviii THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

- July 17. Received account of La Corne's attack on Haldimand at Oswego.  
21. Embarked on Lake George for advance upon Ticonderoga.  
25. Received news of capture of Fort Niagara.  
26. Ticonderoga abandoned.
- Aug. 4. Landed at Crown Point.
- Oct. 11. Embarked with army down Lake Champlain.  
18. Received news of capture of Quebec and Death of Wolfe.  
21. Having abandoned the idea of an advance on Canada Amherst returned to Crown Point.
- Dec. 11. Arrived at New York.  
12. Received despatch announcing Forbes' capture of Fort Duquesne on Nov. 24.

### 1760:

- May 8. Arrived at Albany.
- June 19. Left Albany.
- July 9. Arrived at Oswego.
- Aug 10. The expedition embarks on Lake Ontario.  
18. Pouchot capitulated at Fort Levis on the St. Lawrence.
- Sept. 6. Established camp on Montreal Island.  
8. Capitulation of Canada.
- Oct. 3. Arrived at Quebec.  
14. Arrived at Crown Point, by the Richelieu river and Lake Champlain.
- Nov. 26. Arrived at New York.

### 1761, 1762:

Engaged with duties as Commander-in-Chief. The principal

## CHIEF EVENTS AND DATES xix

events were: the Cherokee War; Monckton's expedition to Martinique, which sailed from New York, Nov. 15, 1761; and the expedition under William Amherst to re-capture St. John's, Newfoundland from the French; the latter also sailed from New York, Aug. 15, 1762.

1763:

- Jan. 10. The King's Proclamation arrived in New York, ordering a Cessation of Arms. (This was made in England, Nov. 26, 1762, after the Preliminary Articles of Peace had been signed at Fontainebleau; the Definitive Treaty was signed at Paris, Feb. 10, 1763.)

The chief event of this year which concerned Amherst was Pontiac's War.

About the middle of November Amherst sailed for England in the sloop-of-war *Weasel*.



# CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
GENERAL EDITOR'S FOREWORD . . . . .	xi
CHIEF EVENTS AND DATES IN THE JOURNAL . . . . .	xvii
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1

## *THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST*

I.	SECTION 8 IN THE JOURNAL . . . . .	29
	<i>January 14, 1758, to June 18, 1758</i>	
II.	SECTION 9 IN THE JOURNAL . . . . .	55
	<i>June 19, 1758, to August 9, 1758.</i>	
III.	SECTION 10 IN THE JOURNAL . . . . .	77
	<i>August 10, 1758, to November 20, 1758.</i>	
IV.	SECTION 11 IN THE JOURNAL . . . . .	101
	<i>November 21, 1758, to July 13, 1759.</i>	
V.	SECTION 12 IN THE JOURNAL . . . . .	137
	<i>July 14, 1759, to September 23, 1759.</i>	
VI.	SECTION 13 IN THE JOURNAL . . . . .	173
	<i>September 24, 1759, to May 28, 1759.</i>	

	<i>Page</i>
VII. SECTION 14 IN THE JOURNAL . . . . .	205
<i>May 29, 1760, to August 9, 1760.</i>	
VIII. SECTION 15 IN THE JOURNAL . . . . .	227
<i>August 10, 1760, to September 11, 1760.</i>	
IX. SECTION 16 IN THE JOURNAL . . . . .	251
<i>September 12, 1760, to June 8, 1761.</i>	
X. SECTION 17 IN THE JOURNAL . . . . .	269
<i>July 19, 1761, to February 27, 1763.</i>	
XI. SECTION 18 IN THE JOURNAL . . . . .	301
<i>February 28, 1763, to November 9, 1763.</i>	

## APPENDICES

A. STATE OF THE PROVINCIAL TROOPS IN 1759	327
B. STATE OF THE PROVINCIAL TROOPS IN 1760	328
C. STATE OF THE PROVINCIAL TROOPS IN 1761	329
D. STATE OF THE PROVINCIAL TROOPS IN 1762	330
E. STATE OF THE RECRUITS, 1762 . . . . .	331
F. RECAPITULATION OF PROVINCIAL TROOPS VOTED AND RAISED 1759-1762 . . . . .	332
G. FRENCH SHIPS OF WAR BUILT IN CANADA	333

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

*Page*

FRONTISPIECE: PORTRAIT OF AMHERST BY REYNOLDS	
PORTRAIT OF AMHERST, 1758, BY BLACKBURN	4
CARICATURE OF AMHERST, 1780 . . . . .	14
CARICATURE OF AMHERST, 1782 . . . . .	14
CARICATURE OF AMHERST, 1779 . . . . .	22
CARICATURE OF AMHERST, 1780 . . . . .	22
“MONTREAL”, SEVENOAKS, KENT . . . . .	24
FACSIMILE PAGE OF AMHERST'S JOURNAL .	30
LOUISBOURG LIGHTHOUSE BATTERY, WITH AMHERST AND WOLFE . . . . .	52
SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG, 1758 . . . . .	56
SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG, 1758 . . . . .	64
PORTRAIT OF AMHERST BY GAINSBOROUGH	78
PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM AMHERST BY REYNOLDS . . . . .	78
PORTRAIT OF HON. EDWARD BOSCAWEN .	84
PORTRAIT OF JOHN AMHERST, R.N., BY REYNOLDS . . . . .	84
PORTRAIT OF THOMAS POWNALL . . . . .	86
PORTRAIT OF THE CHEVALIER DE LEVÍS . .	86
PORTRAIT OF GENERAL ABERCROMBIE . .	92

	<i>Page</i>
FORT EDWARD, ON THE HUDSON RIVER, 1763	92
SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON . . . . .	108
ALBANY, NEW YORK, 1763 . . . . .	108
COUNTRY BETWEEN FORT EDWARD AND CROWN POINT . . . . .	122
PORTRAIT OF CAPTAIN JOSHUA LORING, R.N.	128
ISRAEL PUTNAM . . . . .	128
COUNTRY BETWEEN LAKE GEORGE AND LAKE CHAMPLAIN . . . . .	138
FORT TICONDEROGA, SKETCH BY AMHERST	144
FORT TICONDEROGA, 1759 . . . . .	144
ROBERT ROGERS . . . . .	150
CROWN POINT, GROUND PLAN, 1756 . . . . .	150
MILITARY ROUTES FROM NEW YORK STATE INTO CANADA . . . . .	206
PORTRAIT OF SIR FREDERICK HALDIMAND BY REYNOLDS . . . . .	230
PORTRAIT OF JAMES ABERCROMBY, JR. . . . .	230
PORTRAIT OF GENERAL JAMES MURRAY . . . . .	238
FORT LÉVIS, ON THE ST. LAWRENCE . . . . .	238
MONTREAL IN 1760 . . . . .	248

## INTRODUCTION

**J**EFFERY AMHERST was born at Riverhead, in the Parish of Sevenoaks, Kent, January 29, 1717. The family, long resident in that county, had attained no prominence or had ever produced a member of any special distinction. They belonged to that sturdy middle class which has so long contributed a large measure of those characteristics that are most praiseworthy in the development of English life and character.

Jeffery's father (after whom he was named) and grandfather were lawyers in good standing, who enjoyed social relations with their neighbours in the county, among whom may be mentioned in particular, the Sackville family who occupied the famous country seat of Knole, situated a short distance from Sevenoaks. The head of this family was Lionel Cranfield Sackville, Duke of Dorset, after whom Jeffery's eldest brother, Sackville, was named. Two younger brothers, William<sup>1</sup> and John,<sup>2</sup> were closely associated with Jeffery in later life, William entering the army and John the navy, and throughout their lives they continued in an intimate and affectionate relationship.

The Sackville family were destined to be intimately identified with the development of America in the second half of the

1 WILLIAM AMHERST: Youngest brother of Jeffery Amherst. Ensign of First Regt. of Footguards, 1755, Captain, 1757, Aide-de-camp to his brother Jeffery at Louisbourg, 1758, and was sent to England with the news of its capture. Fought, 1759-1760, in campaign against Canada in General Amherst's army, with rank of Lieut.-Colonel in America. In 1762 commanded expedition which recaptured St. John's, Newfoundland, from the French. After his return to England he held important appointments, and died, in 1781, a Major-General. His son William inherited Jeffery Amherst's peerage and became Governor-General of India.

2 JOHN AMHERST: He was about a year younger than Jeffery. Entered navy and became Captain in 1744. Served in East Indies. Under Boscawen in Nova Scotia, 1755, and in Holburne's fleet, 1757. Again under Boscawen in the *Captain* at Louisbourg, 1758. At Quebec, 1759. In 1765 advanced to flag rank. Commander-in-Chief at Plymouth, 1776, where he died in 1778.

## 2 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

18th century. It was their influence which determined the early military career of Jeffery Amherst, conqueror of French Canada. A son of the house, Lord George Sackville, who later assumed the name of Germain), was fated to be one of the most baneful advisors of his sovereign in the fateful years which witnessed the severance of the ties which had united the American Colonies to the Mother Country

Of Jeffery's boyhood days we know little. He could not have had more than an ordinary school education, for at an early period he went into service as a page in the family of the Duke of Dorset, following an old European custom whereby boys were taken into great houses that they might learn deportment and be trained in the habits and customs of the world. Here he laid the foundation of that knowledge of men and affairs which was so valuable to him in his later career. Thereafter, his training was to be continued in military camps and on battle-fields, during many long years.

At the age of eighteen, in 1735, Jeffery began his life in the army by joining the First Regiment of Footguards as an ensign. (At this time his future subordinate, James Wolfe, was a child of eight, in a Kentish village, only a short distance from Sevenoaks.) This regiment, which in times of peace, performed the picturesque service of protecting the Sovereign, was, in war-time, given hard duties in the field, and in the wars of Marlborough had fought valiantly on the continent.

For seven years after Amherst's appointment the First Regiment was kept at home, engaged in a monotonous round of parades, marches, guard-mountings and other ceremonial performances. The War of the Austrian Succession brought a welcome change.

In 1741 the British government sent troops to Flanders, for the purpose of aiding Maria Theresa, who was being attacked by a multitude of foes. Amherst's regiment was among these. The Commander-in-Chief was the Earl of Stair under whom

served General Ligonier, one of the ablest soldiers in the army. In 1742 the latter chose Amherst as his aide-de-camp, a most fortunate occurrence for the young officer. His chief had risen in the army by hard work, and had enjoyed a brilliant career in the wars of Marlborough. Amherst's first field service was at Dettingen, in 1743, and it is interesting to note that in this fight three other young officers, James Wolfe, Hon. Robert Monckton<sup>3</sup> and Hon. George Townshend,<sup>4</sup> who fought long

3 HON. ROBERT MONCKTON: Born 1726; second son of first Viscount Galway. Entered army, 1741. In 1742-1743 fought in Flanders and Germany. Captain in 1744. Fought at Dettingen and Fontenoy. Major in 1747; Lieut.-Colonel in 1751. Elected M.P. in 1751. Sent to Nova Scotia, in 1752. Commanded at Fort Lawrence in same year for a time. Member of Council in Halifax, in 1753; quelled German insurrection at Lunenburg in same year. In 1754, made Lieut.-Governor of Annapolis Royal (a title which he retained until his death.) In 1755 sent to Boston to command troops raised there by Governor Shirley for the attack on Fort Beauséjour. Besieged and captured this Fort in June of this year. Remained in command of the fort, renamed Fort Cumberland, until November 25. In December of the same year, made Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, being next to Governor Lawrence. In 1757, he became Colonel of the 60th Royal American Rifles. In 1758, he remained in Halifax at the head of the Government, while Lawrence served at the siege of Louisbourg. In 1758, he was sent to destroy the French settlements on the St. John river. In 1759, he was senior Brigadier-General at Quebec under Wolfe, and was badly wounded. Afterwards he went to New York, and in 1760, commanded the troops at Philadelphia. Became Major-General and Governor of New York in 1761. Late in the same year he commanded the expedition to Martinique, which he captured, along with Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent; for this campaign he received the thanks of the House of Commons. In 1763, he returned to England. Governor of Berwick-on-Tweed, 1765; Lieut.-General, 1770; Governor of Portsmouth, 1778; M. P. for Portsmouth, 1770. He died in 1782, and was buried in Kensington Parish Church, London. He never married.

4 HON. GEORGE TOWNSHEND: Born, 1724. Son of 3rd Viscount. Entered army, 1742. In 1747 A.D.C. to Duke of Cumberland, and joined 20th regt. of foot and, afterwards joined 1st Footguards. Lieut.-Col., 1748. Retired from army in 1750 because of differences with the Duke of Cumberland, whom he caricatured. He issued a number of political caricatures and was very gifted as a draughtsman. After the Duke retired from the army Townshend again joined and became A.D.C. to George II. In 1759 was brigadier-general at Quebec under Wolfe. When he returned to England he claimed much of the honor of the victory and was much criticised. He succeeded his father as 4th Viscount. In 1782 he was made a General, and, in 1786 he was made a Marquis; Field-Marshal in 1796. He died in 1807.

## 4 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

afterward on the Plains of Abraham, had their first experience of war.

Amherst's service on the continent continued until 1745, when he fought at Fontenoy; afterwards he was recalled to England with Ligonier,<sup>5</sup> to take part in the campaign under the Duke of Cumberland against Prince Charles Edward Stuart. On Christmas Day he was given a company in the First Battalion of the First Regiment of Footguards, his rank being raised to that of Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1746 Amherst returned to the Netherlands, and, in the campaign of 1747, was made aide-de-camp to the Duke of Cumberland, due, undoubtedly, to the recommendation of Ligonier.

Hostilities ceased with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, and Amherst returned to London to continue his duties as a Guardsman. That he stood in high favor with the authorities is evident by his selection as Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of Cumberland. In 1753 he married his cousin, Jane Dalison, belonging to a Kentish family near Sevenoaks; she bore no children and died in 1765.

At the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, in 1756, Amherst was ordered to the continent to take charge of the Commissariat of a large body of Hessian troops in the British service. Shortly after, in May, he was recalled to England, with a portion of these troops, to aid in the defences against a threatened invasion, receiving promotion to the Colonelcy of the 15th Regiment of Foot.

In March, 1757, he was again sent to Germany, and soon found himself under the command of the Royal Duke of Cumber-

5 JOHN OR JEAN LOUIS LIGONIER: Born at Castres in France, 1680. Went to Ireland, 1697; joined British army and fought through Marlborough's campaigns; Colonel in 1720; Lieut.-General, 1743; Commander-in-chief and made Viscount, 1757; Field-Marshal and Earl, 1766.



OIL PAINTING BY J. BLACKBURN, 1758.

*Courtesy of P. G. Roy, Archivist of Quebec*

JEFFERY AMHERST



land. The Duke was completely out-manoeuvred and defeated by the French, being forced to sign the Convention of Kloster Zeven, by which Hanover was left in control of the enemy, to the great indignation of King George II in England, who so visited his displeasure on his son, the Duke, that the latter was forced to retire from the army in disgrace. The King refused to abide by the Convention and inaugurated another campaign against the French, under the command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

In January, 1758, while in winter-quarters at Stade, the great opportunity of Amherst's life came to him. William Pitt had determined on aggressive measures against the French in America, and Colonel Amherst was summoned to England to take command of an army of over 11,000 men ordered to attack the great stronghold of Louisbourg, in Cape Breton; for this service he was given the rank of a Major-General in America. The choice was a remarkable one. Pitt, though not actually Prime Minister, was the dominating figure of the Cabinet, and in complete control of British war operations throughout the world. His first great effort, the Rochefort expedition of 1757, had lowered the military renown of Great Britain, and was disastrous to the reputation of some of the most prominent soldiers of the day; James Wolfe, though only a Quartermaster-General, alone seems to have emerged from the inglorious affair with increased credit, a fact which at once brought him to the notice of the great War Minister. It was, therefore, all the more important, that in planning a far more hazardous expedition across the Atlantic, the leaders should be most carefully chosen. There can be no doubt that the new Commander-in-Chief, Ligonier, was responsible for Amherst's selection. Though their relations had been intimate for years, the occasion was

## 6 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

too critical, and Ligonier too conscientious a soldier, to allow mere considerations of friendship to weigh with him. Pitt must have been influenced chiefly, therefore, by the character and soldierly qualities which Amherst had exhibited in his military career.

Yet, even so, the selection was remarkable. Amherst was utterly untried as a leader. He had very little opportunity of directing the operations of masses of troops or of co-ordinating the activities of mixed forces; as regards the co-operation of military and naval forces he had no experience whatever. He had been in the army twenty-three years, serving in a Guards regiment, but fourteen of these had been spent in the monotonous routine of a Guardsman's life in London. Now, such a training is not usually regarded as fitting a soldier for difficult and important military enterprises. Regiments of the Guards have always been noted for smartness, perfection of drill, steadiness, courage and gallantry, but their officers have not, as a rule, been ambitious to advance to the highest ranks of military service in which more than the command of a regiment is necessary. Amherst had really never commanded even a regiment in the field. His active work had been that of an aide-de-camp, and it was in this capacity alone that he had gained any experience of staff operations.

When the Seven Years' War broke out he was not given command of a fighting force, but was placed in charge of the Commissariat of mercenary Hessian troops, and from this position he was taken to be given the chief command of the British army in America in the eventful years of 1758-1763. Historians have frequently referred to the boldness of Pitt in appointing Wolfe to command the Quebec expedition, in 1759, but this was not as remarkable as his selection of Amherst, in

1758. Wolfe's record had been brilliant, and he had gained renown as a regimental commander. Moreover, he was a keen student of military science, and his performance at Louisbourg had made him one of the outstanding figures in the entire British army. Consequently his Quebec appointment seemed to be the logical culmination of his previous career.

No such reason can be assigned for Amherst's appointment. Great military leaders don't usually spring from the ranks of Commissary officers, nor are they, as a rule, chosen from colonels who have never actually directed the operations of their regiments in war. It must be concluded, that there were very few officers in the army, at the beginning of 1758, who were fit to be considered for the command of the Louisbourg expedition. Ligonier's selection of Amherst was based upon his intimate knowledge of his character and capacity, chiefly in the work of an aide-de-camp; it was certainly not due to any performances in the higher sphere of military service. However, the choice was fully justified, as the events of the next few years demonstrated. Amherst proved worthy of the confidence placed in him, and, while never exhibiting characteristics of leadership which might be termed phenomenal or even brilliant, he was essentially a safe man, taking few risks and safeguarding himself as much as possible against all eventualities.

From Amherst's Journal we gain no idea of how he received the news. If he was surprised or startled there is no inkling in his writings. He apparently took it as a matter of course. Stolid and unemotional he promptly left Germany, in obedience to orders, and went to England to undertake a difficult task for which he was ill-prepared, with the same aplomb which he might have displayed if merely summoned to Guards' duty in England. He arrived in London on Feb. 26, and learned that

## 8 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

the main part of his army and Boscawen's<sup>6</sup> fleet had departed for Halifax. (Sir Charles Hardy<sup>7</sup> had been sent out in January with a small squadron to blockade Louisbourg as early in the season as possible.) Thus Pitt showed his determination to undertake his great task without any delay. Amherst had had nothing to do with the organization of the force which he was to command, or with the appointment of his officers. He was notified that his three brigadiers would be Wolfe, Lawrence<sup>8</sup> and Whitmore,<sup>9</sup> and of these he knew personally only Wolfe. His stay in England lasted barely two weeks, for on March 16 he sailed from Portsmouth in the *Dublin*, commanded by Capt. Rodney.<sup>10</sup> The voyage was long and tedious, and it was not until

6 HON. EDWARD BOSCAWEN: Born, 1711, son of Viscount Falmouth. Entered navy, 1726. In 1741, commanded the *Shoreham* in Cartagena expedition. Flag officer, 1747. In 1755, Vice-Admiral, and sent with squadron to Canada, fighting French squadron off Newfoundland, and capturing the *Lys* and the *Alcide*. In 1758, Commander-in-Chief of fleet at siege of Louisbourg. Died, 1761.

7 SIR CHARLES HARDY: Born, 1716. Entered navy, 1731, Captain, 1741; Governor of New York, 1755, flag officer in 1756. Second in command to Holburne in Nova Scotia, 1757. Second in command to Boscawen at Louisbourg, 1758. In 1759, second in command to Hawke at battle of Quiberon Bay. Died, 1780.

8 CHARLES LAWRENCE: Born in England, 1709; entered army as ensign, 1727. In 1729, served in America; from 1733 to 1737 in West Indies. In 1741, made Lieutenant in 56th Regt.; next year Captain. Fought in Flanders and wounded at Fontenoy. In 1747-1748, at Louisbourg. In 1753, made Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia. In 1758, one of the three Brigadiers under Amherst at Louisbourg. Colonel of 60th Regt. Died in Halifax, 1760.

9 EDWARD WHITMORE: Born in England, 1691. Lieut.-Colonel of 36th regt., 1747; Colonel of 22nd Regt., 1757. One of Amherst's Brigadiers at Louisbourg, 1758; after the capture he was made Governor. In December, 1761, while sailing to Boston, was drowned, at Plymouth, Mass. His body was buried in King's Chapel, Boston.

10 GEORGE BRYDGES RODNEY: Born, 1719. Entered navy, 1732. Commanded a ship, in 1748, and was Governor of Newfoundland. In the *Dublin* he took Amherst to Halifax, 1758, but did not go to Louisbourg until late in the siege. Rear-Admiral, 1759. In 1762, fought in West Indies, and made Vice-Admiral. Baronet, 1764. On Jan. 16, 1780, defeated Spanish fleet near Spain. In April, 1782, defeated De Grasse and French fleet in West Indies. Raised to peerage. Died, 1792.

May 28 that the vessel arrived off Halifax Harbour. Finding that Boscawen's fleet and the transports, 157 sail in all, were just leaving for Louisbourg, Amherst at once transferred himself to the flagship *Namur* and sailed for Gabarus Bay.

Of the many operations which marked the progress of the capture of Louisbourg—the hazardous landing in the Bay on June 8, capture of shore entrenchments, establishment of a base camp and defenses, encirclement of the harbor with batteries, destruction of the French ships, extension of a network of trenches toward the fortifications, the gradual wearing down of the enemy, and the final capitulation on July 27, nothing need be said in detail.

The French fought bravely, but they were greatly outnumbered, and their defences were not in the best shape owing to neglect of the home authorities. Moreover, the fleet rendered very little assistance. The *Arethuse*, commanded by Vauquelin, undoubtedly annoyed the British in the work of advancing their batteries and trenches toward the fortress, but never seriously impeded them.

Just why a splendid squadron of a dozen ships had been kept in the small harbor to be mere targets for the British guns is a mystery. If they had made a mass effort to attack Sir Charles Hardy's fleet they might have injured the enemy considerably, and gained some glory for their country. They might even have been allowed to try to escape in a fog without fighting, as did the *Arethuse*. By remaining in the port their end was certain to be capture or destruction.

Historians in general, describing the capture of Louisbourg, give chief credit to Wolfe, who after the event, was widely lauded as the "Hero of Louisbourg". Certain it is that, in rapidity of movements and brilliancy of execution, he was the outstanding figure among the besiegers, while of the two

## 10 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

brigadiers, Lawrence and Whitmore, little is recorded. In William Amherst's Journal there are references to the latter, which indicate that he gave dissatisfaction at head-quarters on more than one occasion. Wolfe was, indeed, the strong right arm of the Commander-in-Chief, and, while history has accorded him the chief glory of the campaign, it must not be forgotten that Amherst was the directing power responsible for the planning of the various phases of the attack. That he approved of the activity of Wolfe, and supported him on all occasions, is evident from a study of his Journal. There is not the slightest evidence that he was in any way jealous of the prowess of his dashing subordinate. It was his business to capture Louisbourg, and he must have rejoiced in the great assistance given by Wolfe in bringing the enterprise to a successful conclusion. An important feature of the undertaking was the hearty co-operation between army and navy, which was again, in the year following, to characterize the attack on Quebec. Too often, in the past, had British expeditions been handicapped because of a lack of harmony between the two services.

The rejoicings, which marked the capitulation of the fortress on July 27, were disturbed by news from New York, telling of the defeat of Abercromby,<sup>11</sup> Commander-in-Chief in America, at Ticonderoga by Montcalm. This, quite apart from Boscawen's objections, put an end to all hope of immediately proceeding to Quebec, a hope which Amherst had shared with Wolfe. Sending an expedition to destroy French settlements on the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and another to capture Isle St. Jean

11 JAMES ABERCROMBY: Born in Scotland, 1706. Ensign in army, 1725; Lieutenant, 1727; Colonel, 1746; Major-General, 1756; Lieutenant-General, 1759; General, 1772, Commander-in-Chief in America, 1758, and badly defeated by Montcalm at Ticonderoga in that year. Recalled afterward, and succeeded by Amherst. Entered Parliament. Died, deputy-governor of Stirling castle, 1781.

(now Prince Edward Island), Amherst decided to take reinforcements to Abercromby, and, on August 30, he sailed to Boston, where he was received with great enthusiasm. He marched with his troops to Albany, and thence proceeded to Lake George to meet Abercromby. The question of again attacking Ticonderoga was discussed and decided against, mainly owing to the lateness of the season. Early in November letters came from Pitt recalling the defeated General, and appointing Amherst in his place as Commander-in-Chief in America. Soon afterward he received news of the Capture of Fort Duquesne by Forbes.<sup>12</sup> The next few months were occupied in planning the next season's operations, which, by Pitt's instructions, involved driving the French from northern New York and advancing on Canada. Large drafts of Colonial troops had to be provided, and arrangements made for their mobilisation in the spring. Sir William Johnson<sup>13</sup> was instructed to make a large levy of Iroquois and other Indians. At the same time the War Minister informed Amherst, that Wolfe with an independent command would attack Quebec by way of the St. Lawrence.

Albany was the place appointed for the rendezvous, and May 1 the date of assembling. On Amherst's arrival, May 3,

12 JOHN FORBES: Born, 1710. Studied medicine and then entered army. Lieut.-Colonel of Scots Greys, 1750. Fought in the wars in Flanders and Germany. Appointed Brig.-General in America, 1757. In November, 1758, he took Fort Duquesne evacuated by the French and named it Pittsburgh. Died March 11, 1759.

13 SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON: Born, 1715. Went to America, 1738, to take charge of property of his uncle Sir Peter Warren. Settled on Mohawk river, traded and bought property. Gained great influence with the Five Nations. Commissary for Indian affairs, 1746; Superintendent, 1755. Commanded Crown Point expedition, 1755, defeating Dieskau; received baronetcy. In 1759 with Prideaux at capture of Fort Niagara. Led Indians under Amherst in 1760. In 1768, made important treaty with Indians at Fort Stanwix. Died and was buried at Johnson, New York, 1774.

## 12 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

none of the provincial regiments had appeared. While waiting, the General organized an expedition against Fort Niagara under Prideaux,<sup>14</sup> with Sir William Johnson as next in command. Although this adventure terminated successfully (though at the cost of Prideaux's life), it has been criticised by military authorities as causing a needless diversion of troops from the main army; for, if the latter were to succeed in entering Canada and capturing Montreal, the western posts of France must of necessity have fallen afterward.

By June 3, though all the Colonials had not arrived at Albany, Amherst decided to move north to Fort Edward. After resting there a short time the army pushed on to Lake George, where it remained a month, Amherst ordering the construction of a fort, for which he has been much blamed by critics. However, futile though the plan was, it was executed in accordance with the express orders of William Pitt. Only one bastion was ever completed, for the successful issue of the campaign made such a stronghold unnecessary. The delay of a month would have been saved had Amherst postponed the work, and this might have enabled the advance on Canada to have been made in the same year. He must have had discretionary power with regard to the time of building the fort, and might have exercised it, but evidently his over-cautious nature was in the ascendant and so he committed himself to a plan which was wasteful of time, labor and money.

On July 21 the army of 11,000 men embarked on rafts and boats, and reached the Northern outlet of the lake the next morning, and on the 23rd the advance was made toward Ticon-

14 JOHN PRIDEAUX: Born in Devonshire, second son of Sir John Prideaux. Ensign of 3rd Foot, 1739; Adjutant 1743; Lieut.-Colonel 1748; Colonel of 55th Foot, 1758. Killed at Fort Niagara, 1759, while commanding a force attacking the French. He was buried at the Fort.

deroga. Upon reaching the ground in front of the old lines of Montcalm, where Abercromby's troops had met with such a bloody defeat, it was soon found that there was to be no repetition of the spirited defence of 1758. The lines had been evacuated, and only the fort fired against the approaching enemy. This was, however, a mere blind to restrain the British whilst the French Commander, Bourlamaque,<sup>15</sup> was making an inglorious escape, with most of his troops, to Crown Point. Though Amherst was aware of this retreat he brought up his artillery and prepared to commence a regular siege. In the evening of July 26, a tremendous explosion took place in the fort, and deserters reported that the remainder of the garrison were escaping to Crown Point. It only remained for Amherst to take peaceable possession. News of the capture was at once sent to England by the General's brother, Colonel William Amherst. On August 1 word was brought by a scouting party that Fort St. Frederic at Crown Point was being evacuated, the French hurrying northward down the lake toward Isle aux Noix. Amherst at once marched, and on the fourth occupied the fort.

It has been strongly urged by many military critics, that the way was now open for an immediate advance on Canada by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu river. It seemed the only course open to a bold and resolute commander, but Amherst, though brave enough, was not adventuresome. Caution was the dominant characteristic in his make-up, and it determined his action in this crisis. He had given orders that Ticonderoga was to be repaired and strengthened. At Crown

15 BOURLAMAQUE: The Chevalier de Bourlamaque came to Canada, in 1756, with the rank of Colonel, being next in command to Montcalm and Levis. In 1757 he commanded at Ticonderoga. In 1758 when Abercromby attacked the fort, Bourlamaque was in charge of the left wing, and was badly wounded. In 1759 he was made Brigadier General and held Ticonderoga. On the approach of Amherst's army he evacuated it.

## 14 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Point he ordered that a new fortress be started, and on such a gigantic scale that great numbers of soldiers were required in its construction. (This work continued for three years, involving an expenditure of three million sterling.) Learning that there were four small French war vessels on the lake, he ordered a naval force to be prepared sufficient to defeat these and to protect his boats. At the same time he employed many soldiers in cutting a road through the Vermont wilderness, so as to make a more direct route to the New England States. Not until October 11 did Amherst feel that all was ready for an advance by the lake. Two of the French vessels were sunk by their crews and a third run ashore. The fourth had retired to the north, where the enemy, under Bourlamaque, were strongly entrenched. Amherst was in doubt as to his next move. At this juncture he learned of the fall of Quebec. This relieved him of the necessity of pushing ahead. There being no urgency, and the season already late, he decided to abandon all military enterprises for the year and to retire to Crown Point.

In reviewing Amherst's operations during this season, it is difficult to avoid taking sides with the critics who state, that the building and strengthening of three forts within such a small area of territory was a wasteful and useless procedure; that the delay of time involved hindered his advance against the enemy; that, instead of using so many soldiers in building forts and roads, he should have hastened the preparation of a naval force (which was, indeed, a small requirement) so that an invasion of Canada could be made before autumn. The water route was the only available one. Its control was essential to a safe advance. Flanking operations by any considerable force could not be carried out through the dense pathless forests. Amherst, however, evidently felt uneasy over his communica-

# CARICATURE OF LORD AMHERST

Published immediately after the Gordon Riots  
(Note the resemblance to caricatures of the Crown  
Prince of Germany during the Great War)

*From an etching in Dr. J. C. Webster's collection.*



*Published 3<sup>d</sup> July 1780.*



# CARICATURE OF LORD AMHERST

*From an etching by C. Bretherton, 1782, in  
Dr. J. C. Webster's collection.*

Jf

*Radcliffe 6 April 1782 by C. Bretherton*



tions in case of making an attack on Isle aux Noix. The water approach to this place from the south was well defended by the French, and he may have felt uncertain as to the outcome of an attack.

Having the following winter in which to make new preparations, and knowing that the control of the lower St. Lawrence and of Quebec by the British must have greatly lowered French morale and changed the problem of defense of Canada as well, he entirely abandoned the Lake Champlain-Richelieu route as his main line of attack, in 1760, choosing a much more circuitous and difficult route by way of Lake Ontario and the Upper St. Lawrence. Yet he planned that one of his brigadiers, Colonel Haviland,<sup>16</sup> with a much smaller force, should advance on Canada by way of Isle aux Noix. As this was successfully accomplished, it must be evident that Amherst's entire army could have succeeded, had he pushed forward, in 1759, thus making the way open for an advance on Montreal.

After making all arrangements for garrisoning his forts and placing the troops in winter-quarters, Amherst established himself in New York. Pitt's instructions for the coming season made Montreal the main objective of Amherst's attack, though

16 WILLIAM HAVILAND: Born, 1718. Entered army, 1739. In 1757, made Lieut.-Colonel of 27th, and took the Regt. to America. Commanded at Fort Edward in winter of 1757-1758, and fought under Abercromby in 1758. Served under Amherst next two years. In 1760, he led a force of 3400 men from Crown Point by way of Lake Champlain, capturing Isle aux Noix and joining Amherst and Murray at Montreal. In 1762, he was second in command under Monckton at Martinique, and commanded a brigade at Havana. Made a General, 1783, and died the following year.

HAVILAND'S ADVANCE TO MONTREAL, 1760: He left Crown Point, August 16, with 3,500 men, which included the 17th and 27th Foot, and Militia troops from New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. On the 21st the Fort at Isle aux Noix, held by Bougainville, was attacked; the French leader withdrew and the fort was entered on the 28th, when the advance continued. Fort Chambly was captured on Sept. 1, and Haviland marched to the shore of the St. Lawrence opposite Montreal.

## 16 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

it was left entirely to the General's discretion as to how this was to be effected. He determined on three expeditions acting simultaneously. One was to move from Quebec under James Murray,<sup>17</sup> another under Colonel Haviland by way of Lake

17 HON. JAMES MURRAY: Fifth son of fourth Lord Elibank; born in 1721, entered army, in 1736, as a cadet. In 1740, was made a second lieutenant. During the following years he served in the West Indies, Flanders and Brittany. He became a Major, in 1749, and a Lieut.-Colonel in 1751. He commanded the 15th regiment in the Rochefort expedition of 1757. In 1758, he was at the siege of Louisbourg, and, in 1759, he was one of Wolfe's brigadiers at Quebec. After the fall of this city he was placed in command of the garrison. In April, 1760, Levis marched against Quebec and Murray made a sortie and attacked him, but had to retire within the city. He was relieved by Lord Colvill's squadron in May, 1761, and Lévis retired to Montreal. Later Murray took his effective troops to Montreal by water, co-operating with Amherst's and Haviland's forces, which were also advancing against the city. After the capitulation Murray was made Governor of Quebec. In 1762, he became a Major-General. In 1763, he was made Governor of Canada. He left Canada in 1766. In 1772, he was made a Lieut.-General. In 1774, Lieut.-Governor of Minorca, and, in 1779, Governor. In 1781, he was blockaded by a Spanish army under the Duc de Crillon, who tried to bribe Murray to surrender; the Spaniards were reinforced by 6000 French. Murray's garrison in Fort St. Phillips having been greatly reduced by disease he was forced to capitulate on Feb. 5, 1782, and he returned to England. In 1783 he was made a full General, and Governor of Hull. He died in 1794.

MURRAY'S ADVANCE TO MONTREAL, IN 1760: On July 5 James Murray, commanding at Quebec started with a force of 2470 rank and file, and 50 Rangers, divided into brigades, one under Colonel Ralph Burton, the other under Colonel William Howe. It was accompanied by a naval force of three vessels, eight floating batteries, and twenty large boats. On the way up the river various expeditions were made to subdue and disarm the French inhabitants. The expedition arrived at the mouth of the Richelieu river on August 13, and a message was sent to Haviland. On the 17th Lord Rollo arrived with more troops from Quebec, raising Murray's army to the total of 3500 non-commissioned officers and men. On the 27th the advance troops arrived at Térésa Island, a few miles from Montreal. On Sept. 6 Amherst's army landed on Montreal Island, and Murray took the same course, advancing to the north-east side of the city on the 8th.

Champlain and the Richelieu, and the third under Amherst himself by Oswego, Lake Ontario and the upper St. Lawrence. They were to converge on Montreal. The details of the successful advance of these three divisions, widely separated and without means of communication, and their almost simultaneous arrival in the region of Montreal early in September, need not be described. The result of the concentration was the capitulation of Montreal, and the cession of Canada to Great Britain on September 8, 1760.

Great were the rejoicings throughout the American colonies and in Great Britain. Congratulations were showered on Amherst, who thus, in the space of two years, had achieved the greatest military reputation in the British army since the death of Marlborough. As a conqueror he proved himself both wise and generous, pleasing the French people by his grant of the free exercise of their religion, and by his administrative measures.

On his arrival in New York he was presented with a beautifully engraved gold box containing a congratulatory address, and with the freedom of the city. He had already been appointed, while at Crown Point in September, to the sinecure Governorship of Virginia, which gave him an income of £1500.

On October 25, 1761, he was made a Knight of the Bath, the insignia being bestowed by Hon. Robert Monckton, Governor of New York.

During this period his work as Commander-in-Chief was largely administrative and comparatively uneventful. In 1763, when he was ready to return to England, he was called upon to

## 18 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

deal with a formidable uprising of Indians, known as the Conspiracy of Pontiac.<sup>18</sup>

For many years it had been the policy of the whites to keep on good terms with the border savages by means of treaties and the bestowal of gifts. The most successful Indian negotiator in the whole history of America was Sir William Johnson, through whose influence the powerful Five Nations continued as allies of the British Crown, during the long period of French wars. While his personal influence counted for much, there is no doubt that his lavish hospitality and largesse were very important means of holding the good will of the Indians.

After the conquest of Canada, Amherst, who had never liked the savages on account of their habits and methods of warfare,

18 PONTIAC: Celebrated chief of the Ottawa Indians. Born on the Ottawa river, in 1720. Settled near Michillimacinae, and became allied with the French. In 1746, he defended Detroit against attacks of hostile northern tribes. Believed to have led Ottawas at Braddock's defeat, in 1755. He was a remarkable Indian, brave, eloquent, shrewd, ambitious, politic and despotic. Besides being chief of the Ottawas, he was recognized as leader of a loose confederacy of this tribe, the Ojibways and Pottawattamies, for many years. His power extended through all the Illinois country, and his influence reached over a much wider area.

After the fall of Canada he realised that he was no longer able to pursue his former policy in relation to France and Britain. The latter was in the ascendant, and he knew that he could not conquer the seaboard colonies. Being encouraged to believe that the French would return again to attack the British, he decided to fight in the West, hoping to hold the country until the French should be again in control. At the close of 1762 he sent ambassadors among the various Indian nations to secure their help. Everywhere he secured alliances except among the Five Nations, of whom only the Senecas joined: the others were kept loyal to the British by the efforts of Sir William Johnson. In May Pontiac's forces rose and immediately nine forts were captured, their garrisons being massacred or scattered. Detroit was besieged from May until October, and was held by the great efforts of Major Gladwin. Bouquet's victory over a large force in open fight at Bushy Run, in August, greatly disheartened the Indians. Pontiac's power thereafter waned, and after another victory of Bouquet over the Ohio Indians, in October, 1764, he lost many of his supporters. In 1766, he submitted to British rule. In 1769, he was murdered by an Indian near Fort St. Louis.

decided that the policy of buying their favor must be abandoned. He therefore ordered, that expenditures for this purpose must henceforth be greatly reduced, forbidding entirely the distribution of arms and ammunition among the Indians.

This change in policy caused much discontent and bitterness among the latter, who were also greatly disturbed by the indications of a westward extension of white settlers in their territories. Taking advantage of the widespread disaffection, Pontiac, an able chief of the Ottawas, began to intrigue among the various tribes, urging them to rise and fight the British. In this he was secretly abetted by some of the French leaders in the west, who encouraged him to believe that the King of France would return and destroy the British. It was not long before Pontiac became the powerful and trusted leader of his people, and in May, 1763, his aggressive measures commenced. A concerted movement took place, especially against the western forts which were weakly held by the British, as well as against outlying settlers. Fort after fort was captured with bloody accompaniments, and only Forts Pitt (formerly Duquesne) and Detroit held out. That Amherst must share in the responsibility for the uprising is certain. Despising the Indians, he under-rated them, and when he arbitrarily changed the policy which had successfully prevailed, going against the advice of experienced Indian experts like Sir William Johnson, he showed a complete ignorance of Indian psychology. Denouncing the Indians as an "execrable race," he told Sir William Johnson, in the early days of unrest, that, unless they became loyal to the King, "they must not only expect the severest retaliation, but an entire destruction of all their nations, for I am firmly resolved, whenever they give me an occasion, to extirpate them root and branch". He apparently took no precautionary measures, left weak garrisons in the

## 20 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

western forts, and did nothing to warn the latter to be on the alert. In consequence, when the outburst occurred, several of the unsuspecting garrisons were surprised and massacred. Only by an accident was this prevented at Detroit.<sup>19</sup>

Amherst's actions were vigorous enough when hostilities opened, though he was greatly handicapped in taking effective measures. Many regulars had been sent to the West Indies, and the Provincial troops had been mostly disbanded. He sent what troops he had at hand to Colonel Henry Bouquet,<sup>20</sup> of the Royal American regiment, and soon this brilliant leader defeated the main Indian army in the field of Bushy Run, thus relieving Fort Pitt. He also sent relief expeditions to Detroit, where Major Gladwin<sup>21</sup> made a gallant defence and was able to hold out. By the end of October, Pontiac's hopes had vanished. Amherst had adroitly written to French leaders, still in the West, urging them to inform the Indians that France and England were at peace, and that there was no hope of French

19 FORT DETROIT: Founded by Antoine de la Motte Cadillac, 1701, who commanded there until 1710. It was surrendered to the British, 1760. Besieged by Pontiac, in 1763, but it was held by Major Gladwin. Transferred to the United States in 1796. Captured by Brock 1812; restored by Treaty of Ghent.

20 HENRY BOUQUET: Born in Switzerland, 1719. He entered the Swiss service at an early age, and fought in Holland. When the Royal American Regiment was formed he was made a Lieut.-Colonel, arriving in America in 1756. In 1757 he commanded the troops defending Georgia. In 1758 he served under Forbes in the capture of Fort Duquesne. Thereafter he held various Western posts, playing a most important part in subduing warring Indian tribes. His most notable exploit was the fight at Bushy Run in August, 1763. He died, in 1765, in Pensacola, being a Brigadier-General.

21 MAJOR GLADWIN: Henry Gladwin, noted for his brave defence of Fort Detroit, in 1763, against Pontiac's forces, had an extensive experience of fighting in America. He was a Lieutenant in the 48th Regt. with Braddock's army, in 1755, and was wounded in the battle in which the latter was defeated while marching to attack Fort Duquesne. Later, he was made a Major, and on Sept. 17, 1763, he became a Lieut.-Colonel and Deputy Adjutant General in America. In 1777 he was made a Colonel; Major-General in 1782. Died in England, 1791.

intervention. When this was made clear to Pontiac he decided to abandon the struggle and make peace. This was soon concluded and Amherst at last was free to return to England. Permission to sail was granted him at the end of the year. Soon after his arrival he was knighted in person by the King and given others proofs of the Royal favor. The death of his eldest brother, Sackville, made him owner of the family property in Kent. He tore down "Brook's Place", his birthplace, and built, in 1766-1767, a new mansion near by which he named "Montreal". The revenue from his property was small, about £800, the rest of Amherst's income being derived from his colonelcy in two regiments and from his Governorship of Virginia. His total income at this time was about £3000.

In 1765 he was made a lieutenant-general. In 1768, owing to remonstrances made by Virginia regarding taxation, the Government asked Amherst as Governor of the Province to repair thither stating that if he did not care to do so, another Governor would be appointed. This seemed to Amherst a high-handed procedure, in view of the fact that governorships of this kind were generally regarded as sinecures, the actual work of the office being performed by the Lieutenant-Governors. He refused to go to Virginia, and was, in consequence, immediately displaced in favor of a bankrupt peer, Lord Botecourt. Amherst was convinced that the procedure had been pre-arranged, and in his indignation resigned all his military appointments, an act which was used by the Parliamentary opposition to embarrass the Government. The affair was much discussed by the public, who generally supported Amherst; he also found an able champion in the unknown "Junius". After a few months the Government was glad to come to terms with Amherst. He was given the Colonelcy of the Third Regiment and restored to that

## 22 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

of the Royal Americans; at the same time he was granted 20,000 acres in the province of New York. In 1770 he petitioned the King to grant him the forfeited Jesuits lands in Canada, amounting to more than 700,000 acres, but his request was not allowed. The sinecure governorship of Guernsey also increased his income.

In 1772 Amherst was made Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, with a seat in the Privy Council. While holding this position Amherst was practically the chief military authority in Great Britain, though not actually holding the rank of Commander-in-Chief, and he was everywhere regarded in this light during the critical years which followed.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary War Amherst was urged by the King to go to America as Commander-in-Chief of the army, superseding Gage. He declined in spite of all efforts to persuade him, but the chief reason which impelled him to take this stand has never been revealed. He continued his work at the Ordnance and was consulted on all matters relating to the war, though the Minister in charge of American operations was Lord George Germain. In 1776 Amherst was further rewarded by being raised to the peerage as Baron Amherst. After Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, efforts were again made to induce him to take the American command but he again resolutely refused. Perhaps, by this time, he realized what the end must be. The entrance of France into the war on the side of America, with the possibility that England might be invaded, led to a demand that Amherst should be made Commander-in-Chief of the army in England, in spite of the King's wish that only a Royal Duke should hold this position. However, the King accepted the proposal and the appointment was made, Amherst, thereafter, holding a most important



*Scit. Am - 1779*



*W. Thut. Powet.  
Ed. 1820 in an. Hour.*

#### CARICATURE OF LORD AMHERST

*Published by Humphrey in London, probably in 1779*

In 1779 a large French and Spanish armada threatened the South Coast of England. The Duke of Richmond attacked Lord Amherst, Commander-in-Chief, on account of the defenceless state of Plymouth.

Under the caricature are the following lines:—

Col. Mushrooms Compts. to Lord Am - - - t recommends this cheap but

Satisfactory mode of viewing distant

Garrisons hopes his Lordship has received the Golden Pippins a few of them are for his Secretary.

*The original caricature is in the collection of H. P. McCullough, New York.*

#### CARICATURE OF LORD AMHERST

Commander-in-Chief, referring to his actions during the Gordon Riots, 1780.

*From the original in Dr. J. C. Webster's collection.*



position among the confidential advisers of His Majesty.

His administration of the Ordnance, which provided stores, ordnance and supplies, was not always successful, and called forth severe criticisms on various occasions. The worst ordeal through which he passed was an attack by the Duke of Richmond in the House of Lords, in 1779. It was stated that the important port of Plymouth, during the period in which a French invasion was threatened, had been left very imperfectly defended, its intrenchments being faulty, its garrison weak, and its ordnance supplies very deficient and defective. Amherst made a weak reply and offered to submit to an inquiry, but the matter dropped.

In June, 1780, London was paralysed by the activity of Lord George Gordon and his rioters, who held the city and committed many outrages during a period of several days. This anarchy was due to provisions of the Riot Act of the day, which prevented military interference without certain legal procedures. Only when the King signed an order for the use of force without regard to the Act was Amherst free to use his troops, and this he did with such promptness that order was soon restored, though with considerable loss of life.

In 1780 the Netherlands joined the coalition fighting Great Britain, viz., the United States, France and Spain, and the prospects for a successful issue in America lessened. Finally, in October, 1781, when Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, the end was regarded as inevitable. This last disaster has been mainly attributed to the action of Lord George Germain in interfering with Sir Henry Clinton, Commander-in-Chief, sending his subordinate Cornwallis on an independent expedition, of which Clinton did not approve. The latter has placed on record his belief, that Germain, and those associated with him

## 24 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

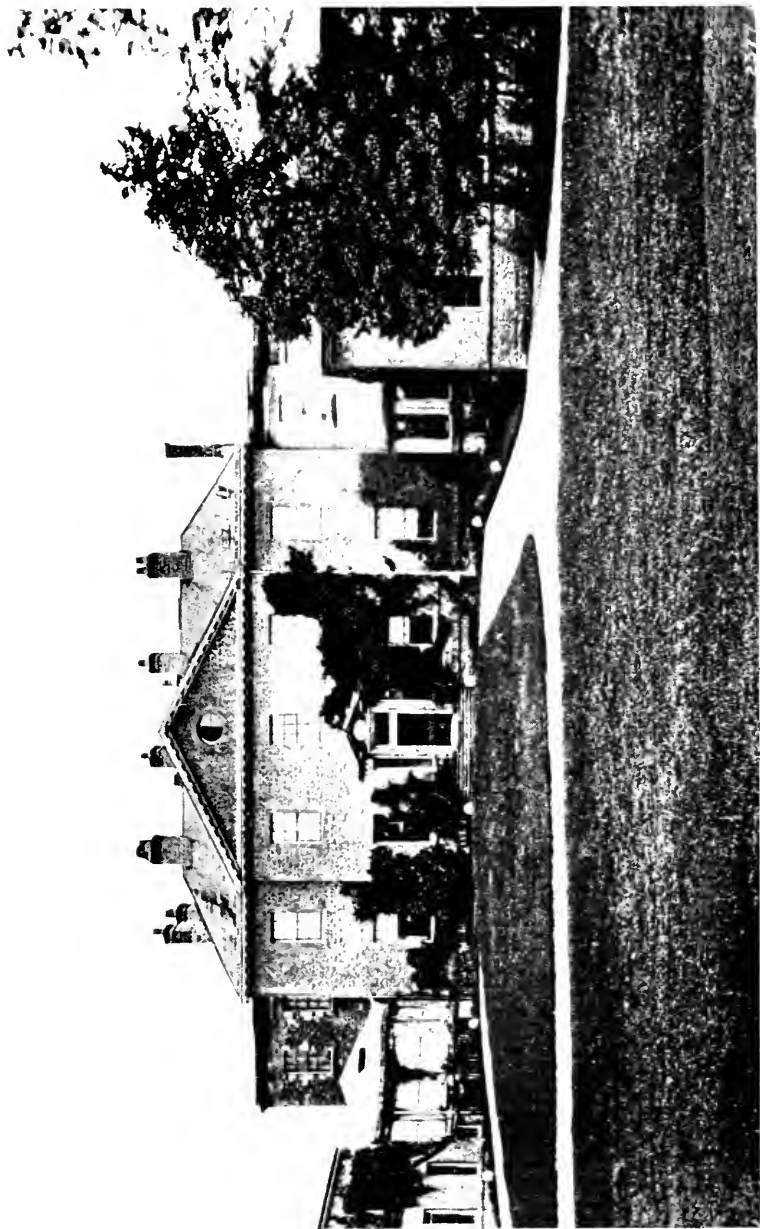
including Amherst, were chiefly responsible for the loss of America. Amherst did not approve of the Southern venture of Cornwallis, but he preferred him to Clinton, and so supported him. The collapse of the North Ministry which followed led to Amherst's resignation from the position of Commander-in-Chief and from the Ordnance, and he retired to his estate of "Montreal".

The King did not forget his favorite, for he made him Colonel of the Second Life-Guards, with the associated privilege of being "Gold Stick in Waiting," which involved responsibility for the safety of His Majesty. With only these Court duties, Amherst was able to spend much of his time in the country. There, as well as in the city, he enjoyed the companionship of friends, especially military associates of American days such as Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts and Sir Frederick Haldimand.<sup>22</sup> The Jesuit estates in Canada had not yet been disposed of, and Amherst made another attempt to secure them. However, Lord Dorchester<sup>23</sup> was Governor of Quebec at the time, and, as he disliked Amherst, he was only too glad to urge the claims of the inhabitants, who petitioned that the property should be given to the province in support of education. This plan was finally adopted, though not until after Amherst's death. In lieu of the estates, Parliament then voted his heirs an annuity of £3000.

After the death of his first wife Amherst married again, in 1767. As he had no issue by either marriage, he practically

22 SIR FREDERICK HALDIMAND: Born in Switzerland, 1718. After a period of military service in various European armies, he was appointed Lieut.-Colonel of the 60th Regt. in 1756, raised for service in America. He fought through the wars until the conquest of Canada was completed. Continuing in the army he gradually rose in rank; in 1777 he succeeded Sir Guy Carleton as Governor of Canada, returning to England 1784. He was made K.C.B., 1785. Died in Switzerland, 1791.

23 Formerly Sir Guy Carleton.



"MONTREAL", SEVENOAKS, KENT

Built by Jeffery Amherst, 1766-1767. The house has recently been sold.



adopted the orphan children of his brother William, who had died in 1781. A new patent of his peerage was granted whereby his nephew, William Pitt Amherst, should succeed to the title and estates. The peaceful tenor of the old man's life was interrupted, when in 1793, after the execution of Louis XVI, the French revolutionists declared war on England. Lord Amherst, though seventy-five years of age, was again made Commander-in-Chief. Since he had last held this office, the British army had deteriorated in strength and in morale, and Amherst's efforts to reform and reorganize it were not successful. In 1795 he again retired in favor of the Duke of York. In the following year he received his last honor, being made a Field-Marshal. His health then began to fail, and on August 3, 1797, the end came. He was buried in the family vault at Sevenoaks beside his brothers, John and William, to whom he had been so greatly attached, and in whose memory he had erected, in 1781, a monument in the Sevenoaks church.

In closing this sketch with a delineation of Jeffery Amherst's personal characteristics, I cannot do better than quote from the description of a contemporary who knew him well. Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall, M.P., in his celebrated *Memoirs* thus describes Amherst.

With Lord Amherst, who had already passed his sixty-third year, I was well acquainted. In his person he was tall and thin, of an adust habit, with an aquiline nose and an intelligent countenance. His manners were grave, formal and cold . . . Under the shade of these laurels not so honourably earned, . . . he seemed to challenge the national esteem, not to say their gratitude. Individually he possessed both; but in his official character, at the head of the army, he did not escape censure on various points materially affecting the discipline and the honour

## 26 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

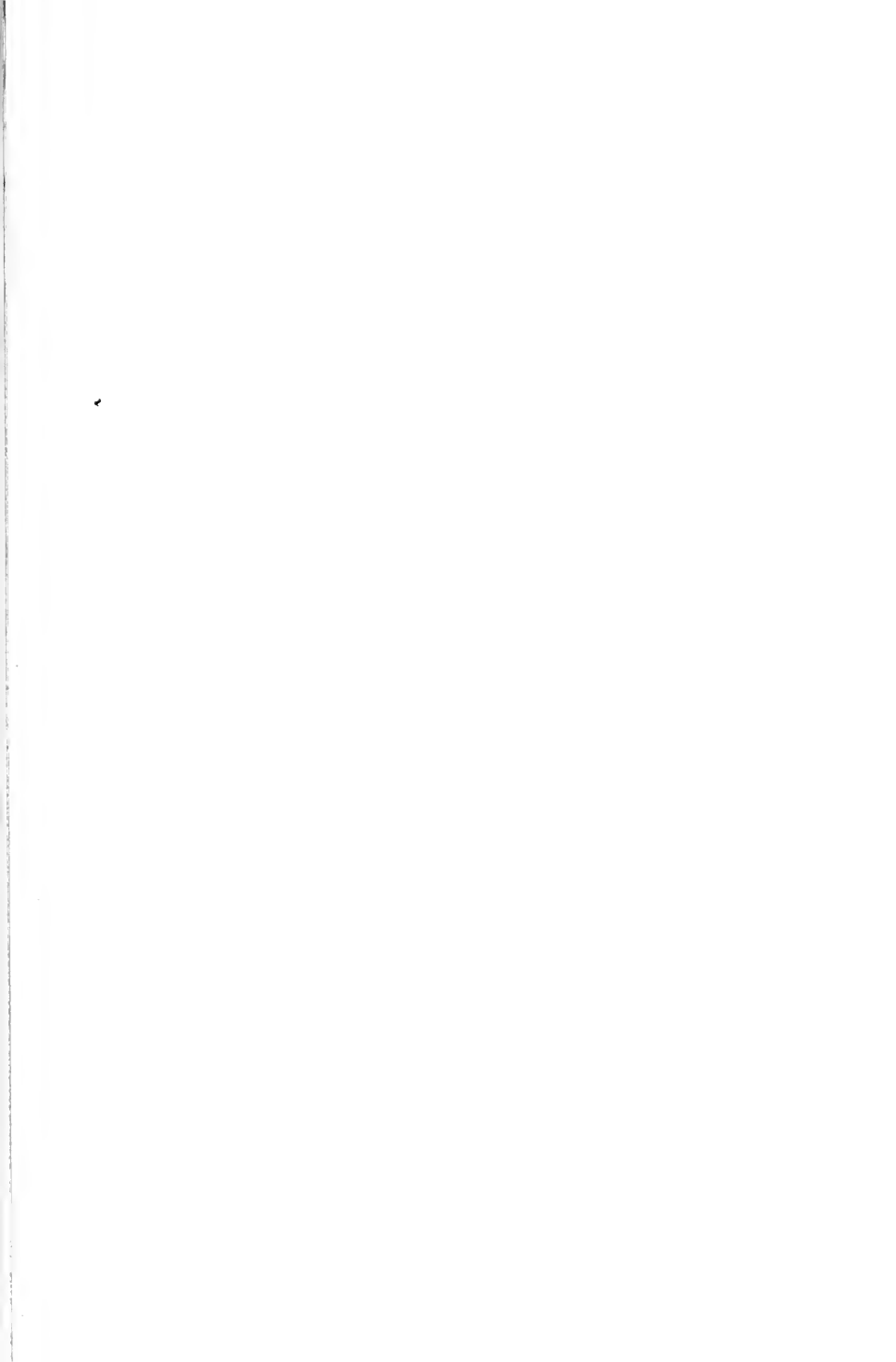
of the service . . . as a member of the Administration, no past services, however eminent they might be, could secure him the public favour in the midst of a war marked by ill success, and now become almost hopeless in its prospective objects. The constitutional tranquility of his temper secured him, however, from being ruffled at any indications of popular dissatisfaction.

I have scarcely ever known a man who possessed more stoical apathy or command over himself. Naturally taciturn and reserved, he rarely disclosed his sentiments on any subject of a political nature. Even at the Cabinet dinners, which were held weekly, I have heard Lord Sackville say that, though he usually gave his decided affirmative or negative to the specific measures proposed, yet he always did it in few words, often in a monosyllable, but never could, without great difficulty, be induced to assign the reasons or to state the grounds of his opinion.

He was disinterested, of an elevated mind, that aspired beyond the accumulation of money. His judgment was sound and his understanding solid, but neither cultivated by education or expanded by elegant knowledge.

J. CLARENCE WEBSTER

Shediac,  
New Brunswick,  
July 1, 1931.





## I

From January 14, 1758 to June 18, 1758

This Section, which represents volume 8 of Amherst's Journal, opens with the receipt of the King's orders, while on service in Germany, to return to England to prepare for the Cape Breton expedition. Then follows his journey to England, his voyage with Captain Rodney in the *Dublin*, to Halifax, N.S., where he joined Admiral Boscawen and proceeded to Gabarus Bay, Cape Breton. Details as to the landing of the troops, the capture of the French shore batteries, the establishment of a camp, Wolfe's march to Lighthouse Point to establish a battery.

1758

*January:*

14th. Major His Majestys messenger arrived at 6 in the morning, brought me a Letter from Ld Holderness<sup>24</sup> with His Majestys commands for me to return to England, His Majesty having appointed me for the American Service and that Mr Boyd was to replace me here. Immediately wrote to P. Ferdinand<sup>25</sup> to acquaint him of it and prepared all my papers for Mr Boyd.

15th. In the morning Mr Boyd sent to me; he had arrived in the night. I had desired J Bloech to give him leave to come in, in case he arrived in the night. Brought me letters from Ld Holderness & others. I settled all matters with Mr Boyd, gave him copys of contracts, Intelligence of all I knew, and

<sup>24</sup> Earl of Holderness, Cabinet Minister.

<sup>25</sup> Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

## 30 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Sr Hanbury Williams<sup>26</sup> writing to me that the ship he was to go in was waiting & the ship Mr Boyd came in could not stay or get into the River I resolved to make all the dispatch I could and the 16th as I had finished everything that I thought could be of use to him I sat out at ten o'clock, went to Basbach 3 miles, Niehaus 2 miles, Ottendorf 1 mile, to Ritzbottle 2 miles. At Ottendorf I received an Estaffette from Mr Boyd with a Letter from the Lords of the Treasury to pay 60,000£ for forage &c for the Hessians, but I was so near Ritzbottle I pursued my journey, in case I could have gone on board. I would have sent an Estaffette and Power to Mr Boyd to execute their Lordships order, as I thought it my duty to go if I could and it was ye 17th at three in the morning that I arrived at Ritzbottle, everything was quite froze up. I walked on the Ice on board the Man of War; the other ship that came for me there was no account of; must be gone to sea or lost as Capt Penny said, as there was not the least appearance of sailing. I sat out at two in the afternoon for Stade to execute the orders of the Lords of the Treasury in regard to the payment of the 60,000£. I got to Bosbach at ten at night and as I could not get into Stade in the night I staid at Bosbach till three in the morning to be there at the opening of the Ports. When I came to the oest it was so froze the boat could not pass, staid four hours to clear the Ice and got to Stade the 18th at ten in the morning. Staid at Stade with Mr Boyd and dined at Baron Steinberg's. At night Sr Charles Williams & Major Marwick came from Ritzbottle to wait for a fair wind.

19th. I wrote to Lord Holdernesse, settled payment of 60,000£ to Mons. de Steinberg and as the frost continued resolved to go with Mr Boyd to Hamburg & Lunenburg.

26 SIR CHARLES HANBURY WILLIAMS: Writer and diplomat. He had returned from St. Petersburg, broken in spirit and health, after a prolonged period of diplomatic negotiations, and had been recuperating in Hamburg.

Journal 1758.

Received the Kings command to return to England		
Left for Richm <sup>th</sup> the 10 <sup>th</sup> & arrived there	48	17 <sup>th</sup>
returned the 17 <sup>th</sup> & the 20 <sup>th</sup> arrived there	24	10 <sup>th</sup>
Went with Mr. Boyd to Harburg	30	25 <sup>th</sup>
to Harburg		25 <sup>th</sup>
to Harburg		25 <sup>th</sup>
to Harburg	30	25 <sup>th</sup>
to Harburg	36	25 <sup>th</sup>
to Harburg		25 <sup>th</sup>
to Harburg the 25 <sup>th</sup> arrived at Harburg		26 <sup>th</sup>
to Richm <sup>th</sup>		30
Went on board the <u>Albion</u> the 10 <sup>th</sup> & arrived		25 <sup>th</sup>
Landed at Harwich the 25 <sup>th</sup> & arrived at London		26 <sup>th</sup>
Went for Portsmouth the 13 <sup>th</sup> March & arrived there		14 <sup>th</sup>
Went on board the <u>Dublin</u> the 10 <sup>th</sup> & arrived		10 <sup>th</sup>
The <u>Dublin</u> took the <u>Marshall</u> last & arrived		25 <sup>th</sup>
Went into the Harbour of Vigo		25 <sup>th</sup>
Left from Vigo		25 <sup>th</sup>
Met the <u>Royal William</u> & the <u>who</u> & the		25 <sup>th</sup>
Salute lay 10 <sup>th</sup> & the 10 <sup>th</sup> & the 10 <sup>th</sup>		25 <sup>th</sup>
Went to the <u>St. Luke</u> Sloop of War		26 <sup>th</sup>
It was the <u>Prince Frederick</u>		

PAGE OF JEFFERY AMHERST'S JOURNAL, IN HIS HANDWRITING  
The first entry refers to the King's command to return from the army in Germany to take command of the expedition against Louisbourg.



20th. Sat out at one o'clock to Buxtehude 3 miles, to Harborg 3 miles. Staid at Harborg till the next morning and

25th. Sat out with Mr Boyd in a Traineau for Hamburg, got in an hours time after having gone over the Castle of Harborg. Dined and went to the Landgrave in the afternoon, to Mons. de Hardenberg's, to Mons. Althaus, &c, and supped at the Landgraves.

22d. I waited again on the Landgrave and the Princess, had a most gracious and kind Reception in the afternoon sat out for Harborg and lay there that night.

23d. We sat out for Harburg at nine in the morning and went to Lunenburg, 5 miles, as we were obliged to go with the same horses twas five o'clock when we got to Lunenburg; the Prince was gone out.

24th. We waited on Prince Ferdinand; twas the King of Prussia's birthday. We staid to Dinner and in the Afternoon sat out again for Harburg; arrived there at ten at night.

25th. Mr Boyd sat out for Hamburg to prepare his equipage for the campaign & I went to Buxtehude 3 miles.

26th. I went to Stade.

28th Blackmore the Messenger arrived a narrow escape of being lost.

29th. It began to thaw a little in the Afternoon.

30th. I sat out in the morning went to Basbeck 3 miles, Niehaus 2 miles, Ortendorf 1 mile, Ritzbottle 2 miles; arrived there at twelve at night.

31st. Everything yet so froze up as no ship could possibly get out. I wrote to the President Munchausen that from the best intelligence I could get here, the Cutters or Men of War

## 32 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

could not at all times get to Heligoland and that in the most severe winters boats all ways pass from Heligoland to Nordhoyen and messengers or dispatches be sure of going from thence to Hamburg or to pass the Elbe at Gluckstadt or the nearest Place they could go to Stade. At Helgiland the Letters might always remain in safety & the messengers or dispatches be sure of going from Nordhoyen to Heligoland. This takes off all the difficulties of a communication to Stade in winter & I wish it had been thought of some months since.

### *February:*

3rd           The Prince of Orange Cutter, Lt Pinfold, got out of the Harbour with Potter the Messenger & all dispatches that have been waiting here since Dec 10th so that in England they have known nothing from hence except what has gone through the Enemies Quarters to Holland.

18th           The Alborough being got out of the creek I went on Board, Sir Charles Williams came afterwards from Hamburg, the thaw continued and the 19th at Eleven at Night Sir Charles, Lt. Col. Campbell, Major Marwitz, Monsr. Meyer, Baron Klopnick and Mr. Talbot came on board—

20th.           We sat sail with a fair wind and we soon got out of the Elbe. At Eleven at night it began to blow a storm and it continued the next day very violent.

25th.           At twelve the Alborough ran aground turning into the Road to Harwich—she was got off with some difficulty and came to an Anchor. We went on shore in boats. I sat out in a Post Chaise about two and arrived in London at 2 o'clock on Sunday morning the 26th of Feby.

### *March:*

Monday the 13th.           I sat out at 3 in the Afternoon from London for Portsmouth and took the Hounslow Road to pay my

Duty to the Duke en passant, met H.R.H. between Haines and Egham. I got to Bagshot a little before night, went to Farnham, Alton, Alresford and Portsmouth, arrived there at 8 o'clock the 14th in the morning, found Capt. Rodney ready to sail but the wind not favourable and my Baggage was not come.

15th. In the morning my Baggage came and I got it directly on board, I wrote two Lines to Mr. Pitt, and to Lord Ligonier, walked about the Town and found great Alterations since two years ago, the covered way and Glacis quite completely finished.

16th. The wind a little fair in the morning, got on board the Dublin 9 o'clock; she was getting under sail; we got out of the Narrows and rounded the Isle of Wight. The wind varied, and now and then it was thought we should be forced back to St. Helens, but we kept out.

17th. We were out of sight of Land; had passed a Dutchman in the night and saw several ships in the morning, the wind westerly . . .

19th. In the morning we saw thirteen sail of Dutchmen, with a Dutch man of war. Very little wind. We saw the Lizard; could but just distinguish it to be land.

20th. We saw three sail and one we took for a french Privateer which we chased. The weather was so calm we could not get up to her; we tryed an Eighteen Pounder to throw it as far as they could but it did not go above half way to her and in the evening I believe the Privateer got out her oars, for she got allmost out of sight and we gave over the chase. In the night it began to blow very hard and the 21st it blew hard and was very heavy. In the morning as we were going Eleven Nots an hour a ship was seen to Windward laying by within half a

## 34 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

mile of us, & was taken at first for an English frigate. Capt. Rodney ordered the Mainsail to be hauled up immediately and ship to be cleared, and knew the ship to be a french one; directly we began to fire he hoisted English colours, and on continuing to fire at him as he did not lower his sail his English ensign was blown away and he hoisted French. The Dublin fired five and twenty or thirty shots, and the frenchman three and some musketry and then struck. The first Lieut., Mr. Worth, went on board her and sent the captain who told us he came from L'Isle de Bourbon, had been four weeks on his Voyage and was laying by for fair weather to run into Brest which he said was twenty leagues from him, that he had seven hundred Thousand Pounds weight of Coffee, Part for the India Company and part for Monsr. LeBorde, Merchant at Bayonne, and some thousand Pounds of Logwood 40,000 P weight; his Vessel LeMonmartel of about 400 Tons and 73 men, officers included. All the men except the sick were brought on board just before night and 30 men sent with Lt. Worth into the Prize.

22nd. We were in hopes of meeting some of Sr. Edward Hawkes Squadron to send our Prize home which we valued at least at thirty thousand Pounds; it blew hard most of the day & at night we lay to.

23d. At daybreak a Sail was seen ahead and the ship was immediately cleared to give chase which we did for several hours, but the Chase got away and we concluded it was a Corsaire. Our Prize could not keep up with us, so after we had given over our Chase we lay by for the Prize which was near out of sight; on her coming nearer we saw she was chased by two ships and on Lt. Worth coming under our Stern he told us he had been chased from seven in the morning. The two that chased him lay to on seeing him come to us, the Capt. said they were

Privateers. It grew haisy and on seeing a ship or two more at first it was thought we had got into Sr. Edward Hawkes fleet and our ensign was hoisted and a gun fired to leeward. On the weather clearing up we saw none of Sr. Edward Hawkes Fleet, but knew the two that lay to must be Privateers. Toward night the Privateers made sail towards us.

24th. In the morning brought a Dutchman to, bound to Surinam. The two Privateers were at a distance, & would not come near; it was concluded one was a Prize to the Privateer. Capt. Rodney resolved to go to Vigo to get rid of the Prize so that she might be convoyed safe to England as we suppose she may be worth 30,000 Pounds, and to get clear of the Prisoners.

25th. The wind continued northerly; we expect to make Cape Finisterre tomorrow. One of the Lts. of the Prize said that 8 ships were returned from the West Indies and were at Maurice where they wintered and were cleaning and preparing to joyn & to go out with Monsr. Dacier's Squadron, that only three Ships of Monsr. Dacier's Squadron, the Dauphin of 60 Guns and two small ones, arrived at Maurice the 5th of Oct. One of the small ones of 24 Guns pursued its Voyage to the West Indies. Monsr. Dacier was expected in December. His fleet consists of 15 or 16 Ships, and the latter end of February the whole will sail to the Indies. Monsr. Dacier's Ship of 74 guns is the only Kings Ship, the others are Ships belonging to the Company of which there are two of 74 Guns. The Capt. supposes that with the 8 Ships that wintered at Maurice and Mr. Dacier's Squadron that was expected there in December the whole will consist of 15 or 16 Ships of the Line and that they will sail the latter end of February or beginning of March.

26th. Fine weather . . . We made the land at ten in the morning, Cape Ortigal, and we stood in but finding we could not

## 36 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

ge in that night the Capt. resolved not to loose time by laying to but to sail on to Vigo and thought to get in the next day.

27th. We had got round Cape Finisterre and half way to Vigo by Eleven o'clock. They made fires on the Hills on the Coast by way of signals, as they are allways in fear of the Moors. We saw the Bayonne Islands, which are at the Entrance of Vigo Harbour, very plain, but it was calm and the Capt. would not venture in at night so we lay to.

28th. Very calm in the morning, scarce any wind; what there was, was contrary to pursuing our Voyage so that going to Vigo will be no loss of time. At twelve a breeze sprung up and we run into the Harbour in the Afternoon. We fired several Guns yesterday for a Pilot but not a boat came off, nor have we seen a boat or a ship along the whole coast; when we got to the Island some boats came off. We anchored in 40 Fathom water near the Island.

29th. At daybreak we went quite into the Harbour between the northern Part of the Islands of Bayon and the Main. Our Prize got in some Hours after us, was chased by the Peregrine Sloop, Capt. Logey. We found here two English Privateers, a French Privateer that had been fitted out from Minorca that has been here some months and some French merchantmen that sell their Lading as they are afraid to get out.

30th. Capt. Rodney went ashore, I would not go, that it may never be said that I was diverting myself at Vigo. I press as much as I can to get away. The Consul will take the Prisoners and give a Receipt for them. I wrote to Mr. Pitt, Lord Ligonier and others. The French Capt. of the Monmartel, Monsr. Guinichon was permitted to go on shore on his Parole to go by land to France; the 2nd Capt. Quit, 2nd Lt., and one man sent on board the Peregrine Sloop and three men on board the Prize.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 37

31st. The french Consul came on board, gave a Receipt for the Prisoners who were all sent on shore. There was a trouble about receiving them for fear of sickness, but the Governour took them at last. Capt. Rodney resolved to send the Prize away directly under convoy of the Peregrine and ordered Capt. Logey accordingly to England. Every one went on shore, I would not.

### *April:*

1st. We sailed at five in the morning, the wind quite contrary; we got out by the north Channel, a pretty good Breeze. We got a tolerable offing by night.

2nd. Very early in the morning a sail was seen which we chased and brought to with one Gun. She proved the Halifax Snow bound from Carolina to London. Was taken by a french Privateer Le Jupiter, who had put a Lieut. and ten hands on board and left the English Mate with them. The ten men took to their Boat, but Capt. Rodney sent his after them and took them. We were in sight of the land; he sent a Midshipman and four men on board and ordered them to Vigo under Mr. Logey's care.

3rd. In the morning early two sail were seen at a great distance supposed to be the Peregrine and Monmartel, or the man of war's sloop from Oporto.

4th. The wind continued very fair, the men exercised at small Arms. Marines fired at a mark. In the afternoon two sail were seen, one a Dutchman the other a Dane. we spoke with the last, he came from Malaga bound to Amsterdam. Told us that Mr. Holborne's<sup>27</sup> Fleet had taken an 80 or 90 Gun Ship,

27 FRANCIS HOLBURN: Vice-Admiral. In 1757 he commanded a fleet off Louisbourg which was so damaged in a terrible September gale that it was forced to abandon operations and return to England.

## 38 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

and a 50 or 60, going into Cartagena and had carried them to Gibraltar. They were first attacked by a 50 of ours, whose Captain was killed and the ship suffered much; then the Admirals ship got up, and another, and soon took them . . .

6th. In the morning a sail was seen at a great distance, thought to be a sloop; the wind was southerly; at noon we were in Latitude 37 : 48. In the afternoon the sail was seen again, a Snow; bad weather in the evening . . .

9th. In the morning a Calm. We had prayers in the ward room. In the afternoon a little wind but contrary, otherwise fine weather. At noon we were in Latitude 35 : 44. At night a sail was seen from the top.

10th. At night it began to blow hard. We stretched away towards the Western Isles. The wind continued quite contrary, and very bad stormy weather. . .

11th. . . . We were in Latitude 36:7 could make but little way to the South. The wind very great and quite in our teeth; at night it lightened very much all round and blew hard, and a little Thunder.

12th. We were in Latitude 35 : 19. Capt. Rodney resolved last night to pass to the westward of the Madeiras and we kept beating about between the Madeiras and Western Isles. . . Towards night it blew a storm and continued so all night. We lay under our Main sail. The Dublin pitched and roled very much.

13th. In the morning a sail was seen laying to. We got near him about twelve after having hoisted our colours and fired a Gun. He hoisted Portuguese; supposed it a 60 Gun Ship bound to the Brazills. The weather abated but the wind quite contrary. We were in Latitude 35 : 11 . . .

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 39

14th. It blew a storm all day at the north. We tore the main Topsail all to pieces, split the mainsail and tore a staysail; were forced to lay too. The squalls come thick with lightning and thunder, We were in Latitude 34 : 35.

15th. It blew hard all last night and this morning at noon cleared up a little; we were in Latitude 33 : 22 looking out for Porto Santo. In the afternoon blew a storm, all our yards and topmasts struck. It continued blowing 'til four in the morning when we wore Ship and stood a South west course.

16th. The weather changed and the swell of the sea abated. We were in Latitude 32 : 30. Looked out all day for Porto Santo or Maadeiras but could not see any land. Doubtful whether we were to the East or West of them.

17th. Fine weather but the wind contrary. We were in Latitude 31 : 43. In the evening saw a sail at a great distance, supposed to be the Portuguese.

18th. Fine weather but the wind contrary . . . We were in Latitude 35 : 28 so that we have made only 15 miles to the southward since yesterday noon; at night it began to blow and looked dirty.

19th. The wind was not so great as expected but was quite contrary. At noon we were in Latitude 35 : 53, so that we are 25 miles more to the Northward than yesterday.

20th. The wind favoured us a little, blew strong . . . At 8 at night we tacked for fear of running on the Salvages in the night, about 12, and again a little after 4 they saw them plain eight or ten leagues to the South. This is the first certainty of what Longitude we are in.

21st. The wind favoured, we were in Latitude 29 : 30, steering a S.W. Course. At five in the evening land was seen,

## 40 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

was taken for Palma, but seeing more ahead, proved the first Teneriffe; that ahead was Gomera and in an hour we saw the Island of Palma on the right. We sailed at the rate of three leagues an hour and ran in between Gomera and Palma.

22d. We made the Isle of Ferro very plain. In the morning left Palma on our Right, at noon the Isle of Ferro was to the south of us about perhaps 10 leagues. By our observation we were in Latitude 28 : 4, so that the Isle must be laid down wrong or the observation be false.

23d. The wind continued pretty fair. At noon we were allmost out of sight of Ferro. It bore east of us and by our observation we were in Latitude 27 : 30 so that the Island is certainly wrong laid down in the Map . . . We had divine Service on Deck . . .

24th. Allmost a Calm; very fine weather. Capt. Rodney sat every sail and tryed not to loose a moments time in getting on. We are, I think, unlucky in having winds against us, or Calms. We were in Latitude 27 : 12. I was taken ill of a fever . . .

27th. We were in L. 25 : 51, the swell continued. My fever went off, I got up in the afternoon . . .

*May:*

2nd. We were in Latitude 21 : 2. At one o'clock three sail were seen from the Mast head; at two they made them from the deck, supposed to be steering to the W. Indies. This set the ship quite alive. All was quickly prepared and we hawled up close to the wind to fetch them; we drew nearer and nearer to them, various opinions about them. Sometimes they were large, sometimes small, now French and then English. About four we hoisted Dutch colours. One of the Ships made a Signal and the Headmost lay too, till the Snow that was astern got up, and

then the whole made sail Hawling close to the wind. We hoisted Top Gallant sails and made all the sail we could after them; one of them then hoisted English Colours and fired a shot to Leeward. We did the same and one of them bore down to us on our firing a second gun to Leeward. Some time after he came under our stern, and a Lt. was send on board in a boat; he proved the Gloucestershire of Bristol bound to Jamaica and came out of Bristol, with the Catherine and the Tartar, Snow, on the first of April, the day we left Vigo. He knew no News; they have been much more successful in their Voyage than we have, the Gloucestershire and Catharina mounted sixteen Guns each. We parted immediately and stood our different courses.

3d. In Latitude 24, Longitude 16 : 24 W; supposed 300 leagues from the Isle of Ferro. As we steer W. every Degree of Longitude makes four minutes difference of time, and 15 Degrees is just an Hours time . . .

6th. In Latitude 24 : 12. Saw several of the white Tropic Birds; the wind and weather continued fair. We sailed about 50 Leagues in the 24 hours for several days past.

7th. In Latitude 24 : 4. For three days past we have seen a great deal of sea weed and taking up some, there were small crabs in it. This comes out of the Gulf of Florida. We saw a great many flying fish, and today some Turtles. Capt. Rodney on talking with the American Pilot resolved to go to the Eastward of Bermudas as the shortest and much most expeditious way and at 6 o'clock in the evening we changed our Course from West, to West North West. . .

9th. We were in Latitude 26 : 3. At one, a sail was seen from Mast Head supposed steering for the West Indies; before dark we made his Hull. It was a Snow, some said French,

## 42 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

some thought English. We hoisted a French Jack and fired a Gun to Leeward but he took no notice of it. We lost sight of him at night; the night Glass did not help us in the least.

10th. At 5 in the morning the Chase was seen at a great distance, as it was to the North West, it was our Road and we pursued. In the afternoon we gave over the chase.

11th. We were in Latitude 27 : 44. Saw a sail at one o'clock right ahead; we soon got up to him and, at three, Hoisted English Ensign and Pendant and fired a shot athwart him. He took no notice otherwise than hoisting English colours, we fired another and he shortened sail, we sent a Lt. in a boat on board at 4 o'clock to bring the Master and his Papers, who told us that he came from Carolina, was a Snow, and bound to Barbadoes; that Admiral Boscawen was arrived at Halifax with 18 sail near six weeks ago, that the Snow we chased on the 9th was bound to Barbadoes, & the ship we saw yesterday was a Letter of Marque; that he had intelligence by another ship of his having seen 20 sail of Ships steering N.W., two of which chased him; which he supposed to be French men of war bound to Louisbourg. Our reckoning of Longitude disagreed but little with the Master of the Snow. We saw every day a great deal of sea weed. The Tropic Birds get a quantity together, raise their nests above the water, and breed in the Calm Latitudes; the Boatswain and others have taken several nests . . .

16th. No observation; by our reckoning we were in Latitude 30 : 38. A strong wind. We went 10, 11 and 12 Knots per Hour. A flying fish found in the chains this morning, 8 inches long, each wing 5 inches long.

17th. The gale continued. At nine a sail was seen ahead laying to; at first 'twas a large ship, then it grew less, then it was an English man of war, and coming very near to it, it was

declared the Jamaica Sloop. We hoisted Pendant and Ensign; he did the same. as it blew very hard we passed him and stood on our course but he followed and hoisted a signal of Distress. We lay to & he came as near as he could with safety under our stern, and we understood he was sinking and wanted provisions, but 'twas impossible to make out what he said. Capt. Rodney ordered the Cutters out to save the people. Some came on board, told us 'twas the Anna of Virginia bound to London, that he had last night taken the Master, Dallman, and 51 men out of the Mars Privateer of 30 Guns from Bristol, that was sinking. They had taken out all they could and there had remained on board the Privateer about 30; they saw the Privateer this morning but expected now she must be down. Capt. Rodney took all the poor Creatures on board, some of which were good sailors. I wrote a few lines to Mr. Pitt. It was very surprising to us how the boats lived in the great swelling sea for the Dublin roled so at the time that I was compelled to lay on the floor to write to Mr. Pitt. The Privateer had been out 5 months from Bristol, was to cruise 3 months and then go to Philadelphia. Neither the Master or any of them knew where they were. Their reckoning had been out a fortnight, and the whole crew on a Biscuit a day and a spoonful of Flour for a great while past, so they were half starved; a shocking way of sending 120 men to the mercy of the Seas in an old French worn out Ship, with an ignorant Master. They could not well avoid being starved or drowned . . .

20th. It continued very foggy, but a good wind which carried us 7 or 8 knots. We had no observation. By our reckoning we were within 5 or 6 Leagues of Cape Sable. At three o'clock in the afternoon we struck soundings at 60 fathoms, it cleared up a little and we made all sail we could, steering North

## 44 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

and by East. We fired Guns that they might answer us from the Shore in the Fog. At night we stood off.

21st. It was very foggy, we made sail whenever we could see and stood North and by East. We were allways in soundings now and thought we must be very near the Land. About 2 in the afternoon it began to clear a little; we had fired a Gun allmost every hour and thought we had heard one that answered. About 3 a sail was seen in the fog, it loomed so large it was taken for an Island or they knew not what; soon we saw another; they were steering athwart us, We stood on towards them and they changed their Course to come to us. The Ship cleared and all ready as we neared them; one was thought to be the Royal William an 80 and the other a 64. We hoisted Ensign, he did the same and lay too till we came under his stern and hailed each other. It was the Royal William from Halifax with the Prince Frederick; told us that Admiral Boscawen and the Troops were all there and that Halifax bore West North West from us 19 Leagues. Very lucky for us that we met these ships that were going to joyn Sir C. Hardy off Louisbourg, or by the Course we were standing we had gone to Canso, and perhaps on the Island of Sable which place we have probably not been far from, so little Reckonings can be depended on, when you can have no Observations to ascertain the Latitude; and in fine weather, which is very seldom here, you may run on the Island of Sable before you see it.

22nd. We stood Eleven Leagues towards Halifax last night. The Pilot then lay too, was frightened at being so near as it was foggy, and the same all the morning when it blew hard till about 3 in the afternoon; we stood off the land, and sometimes on, fired some Guns but had no answer, except that

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 45

they imagined once that they heard some. Towards night it came calm but very foggy.

23d. Clear in the morning and a fine day. We stood in for the Land, about nine saw a Schooner and fired a gun but he would not come near us. About ten we saw the Land and stood in for it with all the Sail we could. The Pilot knew not the Land, said Cape Sambro was to Leward so we stood for it. At 2 o'clock he changed his opinion and said 'twas to Windward, by which we lost a great deal of time. We then hawled close up to the wind and about 5 we saw we could not get in to Windward of the Cape, so were obliged to tack and stand off shore as it grew very foggy. The Cape was about 6 Leagues from us; we fired several Guns but could hear no Answer. We have lost getting in to Halifax by the Pilot's not knowing the Coast when he first saw it . . .

25th. Very foggy all day. Could not possibly see two Ships Lengths often; we fired Guns and had no Answer. Supposed we were 4 or 5 Leagues off the Harbour; no wind. At 11 at night the men in the Forecastle heard 5 Guns and saw the flash. We fired one.

26th. It began to clear about 8 in the morning. We stood towards the land; about ten we saw the land at a great Distance. The Pilot was very doubtful what Land it was. We saw a Man of War Sloop and two or three other Sloops which we supposed were from New York or Boston, but were not sure but they might be from Halifax for Louisbourg. About twelve the Pilot said he was sure it was Cape Sambro. We had been so much out in our Reckonings that instead of having the Harbour open, we had been drove 13 or 14 Leagues to the westward. At noon the wind rose and we spoke to the Hawke Sloop of War at 2 o'clock

## 46 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

. . . who was bound for Halifax and had under his Convoy Braggs Regt. from Chekniecto in the Bay of Fundy . . .

27th. Very foggy. We had fired a Gun allmost every hour. At nine we had sight of the Land for a little time only, for the fog came on again and continued till 2 o'clock when it cleared up and we saw the Land very near us and a large Transport Ship standing from it with one of the Sloops we saw yesterday. The Pilot had said yesterday he was sure 'twas Cape Sambro and we thought now to enter the Harbour, but by the Sloop standing off we saw our mistake and it proved to be Cape La Haag with Mahon Harbour and the Town of Lunenburg, which we saw very plain. On speaking to the Sloop he told us he had anchored at Cape La Haag all night and Cape Sambro was 7 or 8 Leagues off. We have been most strangely out in our Reckonings since we spoke with the R. William, and our Pilot very ignorant, and we were not far from being on shore in the night as we saw the land when the fog went off. We must have been allmost as far to the westward as Cape Sable instead of being off Halifax and if the Stupid had not said he was sure of the Land, we should have asked the Sloop, when we spoke, which might just as easily have been done.

28th. In the morning we saw the Land off Halifax Harbour and about 8 o'clock saw several ships coming out. It proved to be the whole Fleet. I went on board the Admiral at 12 o'clock where I met Br. Generals Lawrence, and Wolf.<sup>28</sup> I gave the Admiral a copy of my instructions. . .

31st. The wind sometimes contrary, we were obliged to tack, saw the Land, and at noon the Squirrel of Sir C. Hardy's

28 JAMES WOLFE: Lieut.-colonel of the XXth regt. Appointed brigadier general under Amherst for the Louisbourg campaign.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 47

Squadron joined us. The total of Ships and Transports from Halifax 157.

*June:*

1st. Very little wind. Major Robertson returned from Gabareuse Bay where he had been to reconnoitre; saw five or six small encampments of a Dozen Tents. Capt. Rous<sup>29</sup> in the Sutherland came from off Louisbourg and the Harbour; said two Ships had got in the 30th and that there were thirteen Sail in the Harbour. We saw the entrance of Gabareuse<sup>30</sup> at night.

2d. We stood on, a little foggy in the morning, saw Louisbourg and the Ships in the Harbour. About 12 o'clock anchored in Gabareuse Bay; about one third of the Transports came in. I went along the shore in a boat.

3d. Most of the Transports came in this morning. Br. Whitmore arrived from Halifax at ten at night. Made a disposition for landing at one place instead of three (as there is

29 JOHN ROUS: The first record of him is as master of a Boston privateer. In August, 1744, he cut out a French fleet of five armed vessels from a Newfoundland port, which he captured, laying waste their fishing stations, capturing a 16-gun ship and many fishing vessels, which he destroyed. In the 1745 siege of Louisbourg he commanded the Shirley Galley, 24 guns, and was second in command to Capt. Tyng of the New England vessels. After the fall of the fortress, Rous was sent with the news to England, where he was rewarded by being made a Captain in the Royal Navy on September 24, 1745. In 1749, he was on duty in the Bay of Fundy. In 1755, he was Commodore of the fleet which took Monckton's forces to attack Beauséjour, after which he went to the mouth of the River St. John, which had been fortified by Boishébert, with orders to destroy the fort. On his approach, the fort was blown up and burned, the French retiring up the river. In 1756, while commanding the *Winchelsea* off Nova Scotia, he captured a French warship. Next year he commanded the *Sutherland* and was at the siege of Louisbourg in 1758, and at Quebec the following year. General Wolfe issued his last order, before climbing the heights, from Rous' ship. Afterwards, he settled in Halifax, where he died in 1760. He had been made a member of the Council in 1754. His daughter married Hon. Richard Bulkeley.

30 GABARUS BAY: Immediately west of Louisbourg. There Amherst's army was landed.

## 48 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

little surf there) in case the weather should not permit us to land as first intended. The Kennington had three men killed.

4th. So great a surf and the wind blew so, it was impossible to land. The Princess Amelia drove from her Anchor. Capt. Leslie's Frigate drove on a Rock and beat her Rudder off. The Sutherland was in some danger. The Kennington was forced to come out of the Bay where she had been firing. Very foggy. Lt. Pownal was sent at the break of day by the Admiral to see how the surf in the Bay was; he reported that the Boats could not land the troops.

5th. Great swell and fog in the morning. Cob, the Master of a Vessel, went into the Bay, reported a great surf and impossible to Land. In the afternoon the Admiral sent a Lt. there; the surf was not so great but yet too much to land.

6th. We alarmed the enemy last night by a small Party of Rangers firing on them. Very bad weather at day break; an hour after it blew up fair and we hoped to Land. The signal was made for preparing and we got all the Grenadiers and the first Detachments of the Right and Left Wings into the Boats; it grew very foggy. All the Frigates were hawled towards the shore. It rained hard, then cleared a little. We remained in the boats 'till eleven o'clock, when by the report of Comodore Durell,<sup>33</sup> Capt's. Gambier,<sup>34</sup> and Belford, &c., the Admiral told me the Troops could not land the surf was so great, so I ordered them again on board. The enemy fired a great many dropping Shots. We fired some Guns from the Diana Frigate and the

33 PHILIP DURELL: Born in Guernsey. Entered navy in 1721; Captain, 1742. Served under Sir Peter Warren at siege of Louisbourg, 1745; also at the second siege of 1758, where he had the rank of Comodore under Boscawen. He was then made Rear Admiral of the Blue. In 1759 he was under Admiral Saunders at Quebec. In 1766, while commanding on the North American Station, he died, and was buried in St. Paul's, Halifax.

34 JAMES GAMBIER: Captain of H.M.S. *Burford*, 66 guns.

Grammont. The Men of War boats carried the Grenadiers and attended well; the Transports Boats did not do their duty near so well. If the fog had cleared up and the surf had let us land, we had certainly surprised the enemy greatly, as everything was ready for the Attack, and the moment the Ships had begun fire and the Grenadiers with the Highland Battalion and Irregulars had landed on the Left under Br. Wolfe, Br. Lawrence with the Left Wing was to have approached as if he intended to land, and Br. Whitmore with the Right Wing was to have gone to the Right round the white Point towards Louisbourg. This with the Sloops with Braggs Regt. and some Men of War going at the head and crossing the mouth of the Harbour, the enemys attention would have been divided to every Part. At twelve I came back with the Admiral on board the Namur. In the evening sent for M. Scot, Lts. Leslie and Tonge to enquire into a possibility of Landing and marching from the bottom of the Bay where the Swell is not so great. but the distance from the Town is 16 or 17 miles, two miles or more of wood to pass thro and to get up the Devil's Hill to come to the Road, where M. Scot was obliged to take hold of trees to get up when he was there. I don't like the scheme.

7th. The surf continued so great we could not land, but the weather promised a change and it was thought a northerly wind might give us a calm sea by night. I gave orders for landing at daybreak, Braggs Regt. sailed under Convoy for Lorembec;<sup>35</sup> they made a great show as they passed Louisbourg. It must draw the enemys attention that way. The Agent of the Transports gave an account of seven being missing, of which four got in this Afternoon; one that he had not given account

35 The small harbours of Grand and Petit Lorambec lie immediately east of Louisbourg and are suitable only for small craft.

## 50 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

of, which makes Eight. Towards the evening Sir C. Hardy's Flag was seen off the Harbour of Louisbourg. The Admiral gave all necessary orders to the Frigates to cover our landing and to Comodore Durell to view the landing place, that I might be informed by him whether the surf would permit the Troops to land with safety.

8th. The Troops were in the Boats before daybreak. Comodore Durell and Capt. Buckle viewed the coast and were a little doubtful; they then took Cob with them and the Comodore determined that the Troops might land. The Kennington and Taggarts Sloop were to fire all they could to favour the landing. The enemy acted very wisely, did not throw a shot till the boats were all in the Cove and then they threw in a cross fire of one 24-Pounder, four 6-Pounders, and the fire of the Infantry that had lined the whole Bay, and were covered by a breast work that must have cost great time and must have been the work of last year as well as this. The surf was so great that the Troops could not get on shore in the Bay so that the Brigd. (Wolfe) rowed round and tryed just on the left of the Cove and landed boat by boat with the utmost Difficulty and pushed forward and took Post as soon as he could get any men formed. The Enemy by this motion being taken in Flank soon began to retreat. The Brigadier pursued as fast as he could get the Troops landed which was done in a violent surf, several of the Boats oversetting and all the Men jumping in the Water to get on Shore. The Left wing landed under the Command of Brigd. Lawrence; immediately after the Grenadiers and the Right Wing under the Command of Br. Whitmore followed. It took up so much time to land the Troops that it was impossible to pursue the Enemy so quick as could have been wished. Their Retreat was through the Roughest and worst ground I ever saw

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 51

and the Pursuit ended with a Cannonading from the Town which was so far of use that it pointed out how near we could form the Camp to Invest it and so soon as the Ground was fixed on, the Troops marched back and lay on their Arms. The wind increased and we could not get anything on shore, lay on our Arms all night and ordered the Pickets to lay out in the Rear of the Camp, posting small Parties in the Front.

9th. The weather continued extreemly bad and we could not get our tents on shore till the Afternoon, then not all.

10th. The surf still continued and it was very difficult to land our things; the Artillery Officers, Engineers and all detained by it, except Col. Williamson<sup>36</sup> and Major McKullogh<sup>37</sup> who got on shore.

11th. The weather was better, the light field pieces and some Artillery Stores were got on shore.

12th. A most terrible day. Br. Wolfe marched with four Companys of Grenadiers and ten Men p. Company of the Regts., making 1220 Men exclusive of Light Infantry, to the Light house Point to make an attack there to destroy the Shipping in the Harbour and the Battery at the Entrance. Artillery Tools, Fascines &c. sent by Sea to Lorembec. Sir C. Hardy's Fleet blown off last night.

13th. A fine morning but a most terrible day afterwards. We could not land anything. Getting our tools on shore last night we worked to clear a Road from the Right to the Left, I

36 GEORGE WILLIAMSON: Born about 1704. Lieut.-Colonel in Royal Artillery, 1757. Commanded the Artillery at Louisbourg 1758, and at Quebec, 1759. Made Colonel of Royal Artillery, 1759; Major-General, 1762. Died a Lieutenant-General, 1781.

37 This is meant for Major Patrick Mackellar. He was appointed Major of Foot, Jan. 4, 1758, and served as an engineer at Louisbourg. In 1759 he was chief engineer in Wolfe's army at Quebec.

## 52 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

walked in the morning over the Front with M. McKullogh (McKellar) and ordered three Redoutes in front. At twelve about 200 came from the Town and got toward our Camp; we beat them back with 40 men and some of the Light Infantry before two Picquets got up to their assistance.

14th. They worked at three Redoutes all night, relieved the Pioneers and continued all day. They cannonaded us a great part of the day. I received a letter from the Governour.<sup>38</sup> The surf so great we could not land anything of consequence.

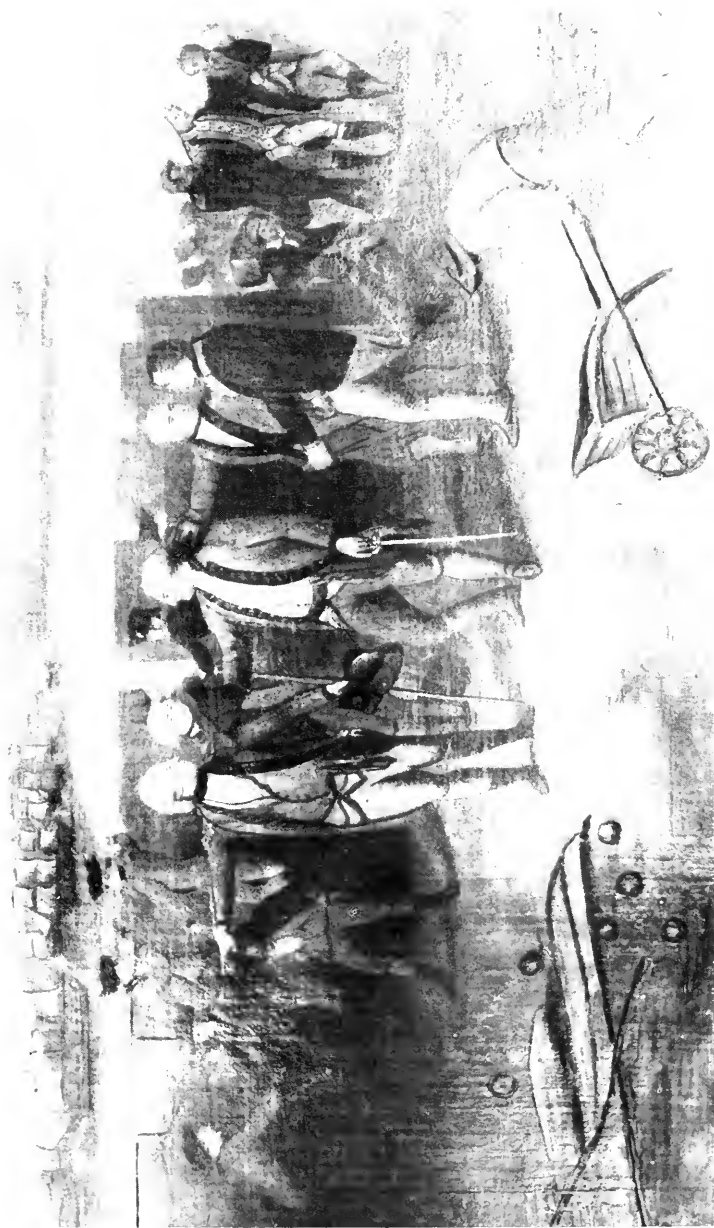
15th. The Redoutes not finished, I ordered them to be palisaded. A good deal of firing in the night at sea. I sent away everything to Br. Wolfe that he asked, added to his Artillery two 18-inch and two 13-inch Mortars. I could not yet get any artillery on Shore. At night two deserters from *Volontaires Etrangers*,<sup>39</sup> said the 13th they had 40 wounded in the Skirmish, 5 killed. Fine weather today. Sir C. Hardy came back and anchored off the Harbour, I was afraid last night as the Harbour was open the Enemy might have warped a Ship out and took our ordinance and Sloops at the Mackarel Cove and Lorembeck.

16th. Fine weather last night. We had 12 days provisions on Shore and today we landed a great many things but could not get any Artillery. A little cannonading from the Ships, a few shots only. The Admiral sent me a letter from Sr. C. Hardy of his having been forced to Sea. Schaumberg<sup>40</sup> had had three Men killed and five wounded by the Island Battery.

38 LE CHEVALIER AUGUSTIN DE DRUCOUR: A French naval officer who had been appointed Governor of Isle Royale in 1754, and commanded at Louisbourg during the siege of 1758. In 1759 he returned to service in the navy. Died, 1762.

39 There was a battalion of *Volontaires Etrangers* in the garrison of Louisbourg, commanded by Lieut.-Col. D' Anthonay.

40 ALEXANDER SCHOMBERG: Entered navy, 1743. Captain, 1757. Served under Boscawen at Louisbourg in the *Diana*; he was given a gold medal for his services there. In 1759, in Saunders' fleet at Quebec in the *Diana*. In 1760, under Lord Colvill at Quebec. Knighted 1777. Died, 1804.



#### LOUISBOURG LIGHTHOUSE BATTERY

View from the Lighthouse Battery. A group of four officers are in the foreground. The middle figure is Jeffery Amherst, his left hand holding the hilt of his sword; his right hand, holding his hat, is extended towards James Wolfe. In the background is the harbour with the French ships; behind the latter, on the left is Louisbourg; on the right is the west side of the harbour with British siege batteries.

*This large oil painting, now in Dr. J. C. Webster's collection, is the only one known to exist relating to the siege of 1758. The artist is unknown.*



17th. I went to the Left of the Rear of the Grand Battery and crossed the Miray Road<sup>41</sup> towards the end of the North East Harbour; they cannonaded us from the Shipping all the way as we went. Some good situations for assisting in destroying the shipping but it is a great way from the Camp, Roads bad, and as Col. Bastide,<sup>42</sup> Williamson and McKellar have determined that their opinion is to make our approaches by the Green Hill towards the Town, it would be dividing our Artillery too much. It therefore appears best to immediately pursue the objective of the Green Hill by making the Roads &c. and confining the Destruction of the Shipping to the Light House Point and the end of the N. E. Harbour, by adding to the Artillery that Br. Wolfe had with him, for which reason I now added two 8-inch mortars and 3 Royals. The Island Battery must be destroyed from that side if our Shipping may not assist us. It appears impracticable to open the Trenches on the Left side so long as the Shipping is there.

18th. Fine weather, last night we heard the Indians had taken three of the Men from one of the Transports who landed in the bottom of the Bay contrary to all orders. The road for the Artillery advanced fast with 400 workmen. Tonight we had got three 24-Pounders on Shore, Surf very great in the beginning of the day. The Admiral came on shore in the Afternoon; told me his Ships were so sickly he could not detach to Port Dauphine.

41 This road ran north from Louisbourg to the Miré river, a distance of about eleven miles.

42 JOHN HENRY BASTIDE: A distinguished Engineer officer, with an extensive experience in America. He drew a plan of Louisbourg as early as 1734, which is in the British Museum. In February, 1745, while engineer of Annapolis Royal, he was called to help Shirley prepare the final plans for the coming expedition to Louisbourg; he was a colonel at this time. Sometime afterward he served at Port Mahon. In 1758 he was Chief Engineer at the second siege of Louisbourg. He was made Lieut.-General in the British Army, in 1770.



## II

From June 19, 1758 to August 9, 1758

This Section describes the various stages in the attack on Louisbourg, the advance towards the central position of Green Hill, the erection of redoubts, the bombardment of the Island battery by Wolfe's guns, the attempt of the French to block the harbour entrance by sinking ships, the development of trenches and advance batteries, the building of the great epaulment, the night sortie of the French at Cap Noir, the destruction of the French ships in the harbour, the capitulation, the establishment of the British in Louisbourg, and the embarkation of the French Garrison.

1758

*June:*

19th. We continued going on with the Road towards Green Hill and getting our cannon on shore. Br. Wolfe was to begin his batteries at ten tonight to take off the attention of the Enemys Ships. I ordered fires on the Hills on my Left, and marched out five Picquets to the left with a large body of light Infantry to communicate by Posts to the N. E. End of the Harbour and to be ready to fall on any party that might offer to come out of the Town and I sent a party to fire into the covered way to keep up the Alarm. This afternoon a french Frigate L' Echo was brought in by the Scarborough and another Ship. L' Echo of 32 Guns very deeply loaded came out of Louisbourg the 13th at night and was going to Quebec; said that the Bizarre got out the day we landed, and the Comette.

## 56 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

20th. The french Men of War all fired away against Br. Wolfes batteries in the morning. We have now got six 24-Pounders and four 12-Pounders on shore. Our Road towards the Green Hill advanced Apace, and we continued getting cannons on shore. The firing continued all day from the Ships and Island Battery at large intervals between their firing.

21st. Very bad weather and the Surf high, they saw us from one of the Ships making the Road and cannonaded us. and threw some Shot too into the Left of the Camp but did no hurt, I would not let Mr. Scott decamp for it. At night 150 workmen sent to make a Redoute towards Green Hill. The Surf so great the boats could not go off at night and I could not get away the things, Planks &c for Br. Wolfe. The Ships (French) have altered their Situation and are got nearer the Town. I reconnoitered the ground behind the Grand Battery some days ago and we found it at too great a distance from the Camp, the work of making the Road there so great, that tho' it commands the Harbour a great deal, I thought the principal object of coming to the Town as soon as possible which was determined to be by the Green Hill.

22nd. A most terrible day, nothing could be done in landing, we worked hard at our Roads and Redoute and getting up a Blockhouse to the Left.

23rd. The Admiral came on Shore; he told me the Surf and landing the Troops and Stores had lost them above a hundred Boats by the Reports made to him. We landed 5 Guns today being fine weather; we had in all landed twelve 24-Pounders and six 12-Pounders. The Enemy fired from their Shipping and Island Battery, threw a good many shot into the Camp from the Shipping. Our Redoute allmost finished. Col. Bastide, M. McKellar and I agreed to get up all the Gabions and



# SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG, 1758

View from Lighthouse Point, whose battery is below the lighthouse, and cannot be seen. The harbour with the French ships, and Battery Island in the entrance, are well shown. On the south side of the harbour is Rochefort Point and the town and fortifications of Louisbourg. Beyond the latter is Gabarus Bay with the British fleet.

*This view is from an engraving by Canot in the collection of Dr. J. C. Webster. It was based on a drawing made on the spot by Capt. Ince, of 35th regiment.*



fascines on the Road that nothing might be wanting in our Approaches to the Green Hill.

24th. The Enemy fired all day to the Light House and to our new Redoute which was quite finished. I sent a Drummer into Town with a letter to the Governor and an Account of the french officers as he desired. On talking with McKellar and Col. Bastide at the Redoute, of our Situation, McKellar wished all the Guns back from the Light House, he was so convinced that Green Hill was the only good approach and likewise that he could better get at the Ships this way, than to our Left, and we were confirmed in his opinion by Col. Gridley<sup>43</sup> and others who knew the Ground. All the Guns back is a little too much for we must destroy the Island Battery, as all that can be done to the Shipping I believe is not great, and we shall at first have a vast deal of fire from the Town and the Shipping and we must therefore approach with the greater Security. We got into the Park today thirteen 24-Pounders and seven 12-Pounders in all, a vast deal of Ammunition &c on Shore. Cannonading all day.

25th. The cannonading continued night and day; in the evening the Island Battery was silenced, Br. Wolfe wrote me word that their own fire on the Island had broken down part of their Works and that they sent to the green Island for Sod—they'll repair it tonight or abandon it entirely. I wanted to get on the Green Hill but Col. Bastide and Engineers represented the necessity of having more Fascines and Gabions along the Road that nothing might be wanting that could stop our works going on. The Enemy fired a good deal at our advanced Redoute; Shot fell short of the Right of the Camp.

43 RICHARD GRIDLEY: Born 1711. Chief Engineer at Louisbourg, 1745. In 1755 again entered army as Chief Engineer and Colonel of Infantry. Served under Amherst, 1758. With Wolfe at Quebec, 1759. British Government gave him half pay and Magdalen Islands. Fought in Revolutionary War.

## 58 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

26th. I resolved to take hold of Green Hill. I sent to Admiral Boscawen to desire that he would take the Post of Kennington Cove<sup>44</sup> with 200 men; the number of workmen and men of Detachments exceeding 3,000 Men, besides all the Men the Regiments are employing in Communications about their Camp. At noon an Alarm came from M. Scott on the left that there was a party from the Town, which proved a Number of Men sent to burn the Blockhouse I was putting up. They got two men in and had a Barrel of Pitch, but Mr. Scott sent a party so quick on them that they retreated without effecting it, and he drove them into the Town very fast. 300 Pioneers ordered at night with 400 to cover them at the Green Hill, 100 Men in the Right Redoute 100 in the Advanced, 50 in the Center and 50 in the Left. Col. Howe<sup>45</sup> commanded the 400 and the Redoutes. A second Picquet ordered to assemble at the Center of their brigades and those of the Center Brigade to advance toward the Redoute. Br. Wolfe reported to me a Sergeant of Warburtons killed by a Cannon shot. The Brigadier came to me; he was advancing Batteries to this side of the N. E. Harbour. I wrote to the Admiral to beg four 32-Pounders which with four 24-Pounders I intend to leave at the Light House will effectually keep under the Island Battery that seems to be pretty well

44 Better known as Freshwater Cove or Coromandiere Cove. It was the western limit of the French shore entrenchments and the point of attack of Wolfe's division. The sloop *Kennington* had entered the bay to fire on the French, but on June 4th had been forced to leave. Hence the name sometimes given to the bay.

45 HON. WILLIAM HOWE, who commanded the 58th regiment at Louisbourg. He also fought at Quebec the following year, and, in 1760, commanded a brigade in the expedition to Montreal. In the American Revolutionary War he succeeded General Gage as Commander-in-chief. His brother, Lord Howe, while serving in Abercromby's army, (in 1758) was killed in an advanced skirmish, while marching through the woods between Lake George and Ticonderoga. His brother Richard was in the navy, and became a celebrated admiral. William Howe had been a brother officer with James Wolfe in the XXth regiment.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 59

silenced. This Battery and a post of 500 Men well entrenched there will leave the Detachment at liberty to come round the Harbour with the remainder of the Artillery, annoy the Shipping and by degrees as we advance, may come towards the West side.

27th. The 300 Men were covered on the Green Hill by morning and the Pioneers returned to Camp, and as all was quiet I ordered in the Picquets at day break. We had an Accident of losing one brass 24-Pounder by its slipping off the Catamaran into 12 fathom water. Br. Wolfe had three Grenadiers of Lascelles wounded by Cannon, two mortally and one woman killed. They cannonaded us all yesterday and this day from the shipping and Town. The covering Party was relieved by the same Number with 400, and 200 added to remain on this side the Redoute to support them, the Picquets to turn out occasionally; in which case the whole to be commanded by Br. Lawrence. Col. Howe reported two men wounded by a Cannon Shot. Two 32-Pounders and two 24 were landed by the Admiral this night at the Light House.

28th. A great many dropping shots in the morning and cannonading but no Attack on our Works. We made about two parts in three of the Road from the Redoute to Green Hill, but not perfected. A man of mine wounded and one of Braggs wounded by his Firelock going off. The Admiral dined with me. I marched a Captains Guard with Colors from the Royal for him. In the evening two large ships were seen off at sea. The Dublin and Devonshire arrived from Halifax. The Enemy cannonaded from the Town and Ships all day. 600 Pioneers to Green Hill to make the Epaulement at night and perfect the work. Col. Messervy died.

29th. Br. Wolfe was with me in the morning. The cannonading continued all the day. Today we heard the two

## 60 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

ships seen off last night were french Men of War. The Admiral ordered two 32-Pounders more to be landed at the Light House on my asking for it; one Man killed at Br. Wolfe's Camp, several wounded.

30th. We continued working at the Road between the advanced Redoute and Green Hill—very heavy and tedious. A great deal of Cannonading all day and Skirmishing. The Enemy sunk four ships the 29th in the night in the Harbours Mouth, the Apollo, a two-decker was one, La Fidelle of 36 Guns another and La Pierre and La Biche of 16 Guns each the two others, and this last night they cut off most of their Masts. Remained in the Harbour 5 two deckers and one Frigate, Le Prudent, L'Entreprenant, Le Celebre, Le Bienfaisant, Le Capricieux, L'Arethuse Frigate, 36 Guns. At night we had a good deal of firing in the rear; some of the Marines at Kennington Cove thought they saw Indians. The Frigate<sup>46</sup> fired near 100 Shot at night at our Epaulement.

*July:*

1st. The Enemy creeped out in the morning to get old Palisades and wood. Br. Wolfe and Mr. Scott pushed them in with a brisk fire and Br. Wolfe took Post where he intended to demolish the Shipping. I sent him two companies of Grenadiers and six Picquets to sustain him. In the Afternoon I marked out a Picquet from the Right Redoute that Major McKellar might view Ground to make a Redoute nearer the Town to cover our Approaches by the Green Hill. Col. Murray sustained the Picquet with his reserves. We attacked the Post of the Enemy, forced them back with a smart fire, took Post and I ordered out 500 Pioneers with five Picquets and one grand Division of the

46 L'ARETHUSE, commanded by the gallant Vauquelin, who greatly harassed the British by his fire as they advanced to establish themselves on Green Hill.

600 Men detached to Green Hill to cover the workmen, and I sent 200 Pioneers and three Picquets to cover them in making the Redoute on the Ground where Br. Wolfe had taken Post.

2d. The covering Party and 500 Pioneers marched and what is incredible to believe, lost their way where one would think 'twas impossible to do so and tho' they had the Engineers with them. I ordered the Pioneers back in the morning as nothing was done, and the covering Party to take and keep possession of the Ground. The Epaulment went on very well last night. The frigate fired a great deal today; they threw some shells from the Town towards the right Redoute and we skirmished all day with Parties out of the Town. I desired the men not to throw away their Ammunition firing at great distances because the French were fools enough to do it. At six o'clock in the evening five hundred Pioneers marched to the front of the right Redoute and 600 men with 2 Companies of Grenadiers to cover them. I relieved Green Hill with the Picquets. The cannonading and popping musketry continued all day. Letters from England that came by the Vanguard; I had none, except one from Germany.

3d. Great cannonading from the Shipping and Town. Major McKellar threw up a work on the right within 600 Paces of the covered way, left off work at day break. A cannon shot in the night killed two Men; I had ordered them to continue working in the day which they might have done. Popping shots all day from Parties out of Town; an officer, Lt. Armstrong and some men wounded, one killed at the Epaulment. I relieved the covering Party at night with the same number and sent 300 Pioneers; made fascines today. At night Lt. Carny of the Namur thought some of the ships would try to get out of the Harbour; the Batteries on the left under the command of

## 62 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Br. Wolfe immediately played on them but it grew so dark they could not continue. The Epaulement went on very well tonight at Green Hill, and the work on the Right by Cape Noir was more perfected; the Engineer had a little mistaken the ground there and was near by a part of the Town.

4th. Very foggy in the morning. The cannonading continued (but not much) from the Town and Shipping; when there were Glares of light they then fired away. 500 Workmen continued last night at the new work; the Traverses and cover where most exposed were forwarded, not cannon proof but the work covered and Men not exposed to sight. 400 Men making Fascines.

5th. A very rainy bad day; continued making fascines. The Epaulement got on but swallowed up a immense number of Fascines and greatly for want of being properly drained.

6th. I went over all the works, asked the Admiral for four 32-Pounders to joyn Br. Wolfe which he readily granted. I changed the Guards, took 600 Men and 3 Companies of Grenadiers to the Right and 300 Men to Green Hill. I put a Subaltern and 24 in each Redoute, the works on the Right were continued and perfected; cannonading continued all day. At night Br. Wolfes Battery forced the Frigate to retire. We lost some few men by the cannonading and some wounded. The Admiral sent me a letter taken out of a French mans Pocket who was found drowned. A Sloop sailed out of the Harbour with a flag of truce to Sir C. Hardy, to carry some things to their wounded officers and Prisoners.

7th. In the morning very foggy. I received a letter by Drummer from the Governour of Louisbourg and one from Admiral Boscawen which I sent to him directly with mine. I answered the Governours letter. The Admiral came on shore

in the Afternoon and wrote likewise. I sent the Drummer back in the Afternoon. The Guards were relieved this night as the last. I asked the Admiral for four 6-Pounders which he promised me; they are to scour between our right and Cape Noir. Two 32-Pounders were brought on shore. A great deal of Popping from their advanced Posts.

8th. I ordered Br. Whitmore to force them back, taking the time of the Relieving Party marching up, in case they should support them from the Town. We had four light 6-Pounders there. Those from the Admiral could not be got up so soon, and Br. Whitmore judged it better not to attack them, waited for orders and I ordered him to Camp as it was too late then. Col. Bastide had a Contusion.

9th. In the night the Enemy made a Sortie. Everything had been so quiet for some time that some of the Officers on the Right suspected they would; others were not so careful and they suffered for it. They came from Cape Noir and I am afraid surprised a Lt. of the Grenadier Company of Forbes' and the Company commanded by Lord Dundonald<sup>47</sup> who were posted in a Fleche on the Right. The Enemy tho' drunk I believe were in the Fleche before Lord Dundonald knew of it. Major Murray<sup>48</sup> who commanded the three Companies of Grenadiers immediately detached one and drove the enemy away very easily.

47 WILLIAM COCHRANE, 7TH EARL OF DUNDONALD: Born in Scotland, 1729. Served in the Scots Brigade of the Dutch army. Returned to Scotland and joined the 17th Regt. of Foot, sometime after 1753; made a Captain in this Regt., 1757. At Louisbourg, 1758, he was Captain of the Grenadier Company of Forbes' Regt., and was killed in a night sortie made by the French.

48 MAJOR ALEXANDER MURRAY, with temporary rank of Lieut.-Colonel, in command of a corps composed of grenadiers from the 22nd, 40th and 45th regiments; this was known as the Louisbourg Grenadiers. During the winter of 1758-1759 his wife gave birth to a son at Louisbourg, and was named after his godfather, James Wolfe. The family have ever since been called "Wolfe-Murray".

## 64 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

M. Murray was posted at a small distance in the work on the left of Lord Dundonalds Company. His Lordship was killed, a Lt. wounded and taken Prisoner, 1 Corporal, 1 Man killed, 1 Sergeant, 12 Men missing, 1 Drummer, 16 wounded. The Sortie was of 5 Picquets and I believe supported by 6 or 800 Men. If Lord Dundonald had not been surprised we might have drove them back without the loss of a man. They were most of them drunk. They had a Captain Chevalier de Chauvelin killed, a Lieut. wounded and taken Prisoner, 17 Men killed, four wounded brought off Prisoners, besides what they took with them into the Town. Capt. Bontien,<sup>49</sup> Engineer, Lt. Tute of the Grenadier Company were taken, and 12 Men missing of the Grenadier Company, (of 17th Regt.). The Enemy sent out a flag of truce to bury their dead; we took them over to them, and brought three of them and a Lieut. to the Hospital. After the Flag of truce went in by hoisting a white Flag on two hills, they began firing their Batteries again; the fire continued, and very smartly from the Shipping on Br. Wolfes Batteries. The Frigate was so hurt that she hawled in near to the Town where she appeared to be unloading something. Br. Lawrence comanded when the Sortie was made. Whitmores and Braggs Grenadiers under the Command of Major Murray behaved very well.

10th. The road at the Epaulement went on a little better; they had very unknowingly neglected draining the water off. We perfected and increased the works from the Sea to Green Hill and this night began a new one in the front and right of Green Hill, 500 Men working all night and 300 Men working in the daytime at the Epaulement. The Enemy fired a great

<sup>49</sup> William Bontein, Engineer extraordinary and captain-lieutenant of Foot.



# SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG, 1758

A—Centre Redoubt. B—Approaches of British army. C—Batteries against town and ships. D—Ruins of houses burned by the French after the landing of the British. E—French fleet. F—Lighthouse Point with battery. G—Island battery. H—French fleet at anchor. I—Town of Louisbourg and fortifications. K—British fleet at anchor.

*The above is from a copy of an original sketch, now in the R.A. Institution at Woolwich, which was drawn during the siege by Thomas Davies, Capt.-Lieut. R.A.*



deal at Br. Wolfes Batteries, and from the Town, and from the Black Rock with two small guns they had mounted there fired on our entrenchment. They threw a great many shells but all without Effect.

11th. The same number of workmen. I added 100 Men with Arms and a Colonel to Command for the Detachment at Green Hill and the advanced works. The Shipping fired a great deal at Br. Wolfe. The Admiral sent on shore 2 more 32-Pounders which were sent yesterday to the Block House. A waggoner was taken off by some Indians between the Block House and Br. Wolfes Camp. A Corporal shot last night at the Entrenchment, Wolfe asked seven 24-Pounders to compleat all his Batteries to his wishes which I ordered to him; he had two demolished yesterday by the Shipping or Town. I wrote to the Admiral by him to replace them if I should want them. Col. Bastide has been able to get out but one day for a great while, and then a Contusion by a Musket Ball which hit him on the thickest part of his boot, laid him up again. M. McKellar reconnoitered today if anything could be done better than raising the first batteries in the front of the Entrenchment on the Right.

12th. It rained very hard all last night. Not a Man in the Detachment could have a dry shirt on, and it was very bad for the workmen; notwithstanding they began the work in front of the Green Hill and perfected some on the Right. I added 100 Men to the party of Green Hill and comanded by a Colonel; it rained most of the day. I took the workmen off from the road and from the artillery and shore that were making fascines. It was so very bad that the Admiral sent no Officer on shore, but Capt. Goostree came with some men and we got up one 24-Pounder to the Block House for Br. Wolfe. I sat about enlarg-

## 66 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

ing the Hospital. At night the wagonner who had been taken by the Indians came back; he had been taken five or six miles in the wood where there were about 250 Canadians and 12 Indians that he saw. He went to drink some water with the Corporal who guarded him and about 8 last night jumped into some bushes and got off. In the evening they fired a good deal from the Citadel Bastion to the new work in the front of Green Hill; one man of my Regiment killed by a musket ball, and one of Forbes's by our own people in the night.

13th. Our works on the Right were more perfected than they were but not well finished; the line was continuing from work to work, and the one near the Sea closed up. The same number of workmen and men with Arms continued. A bad rainy night and the Surf so great nothing could be landed. The enemy threw a great many shells on the Right without effect, I saw them working on the Glacis by Cape Noir, putting up Palisades, I suppose to hinder us taking possession very near that point. In the evening five deserters came in of Royal Marine, three Spanish, two French; said a sloop from Miray got in three days ago.

14th. The Batteries turned out last night with an intention to place twenty 24-Pounders in four places to destroy the defences; a Battery of seven mortars against the Town and some 12-Pounders to Ricochet into the Town. The Enemy threw a great many shells. We got two of the 24-Pounders to the Block House. The weather was better but there was a vast surf. On a shot or two from our six-pounders the Enemy quitted their work at Cape Noir. I fixed on the back of the Hill near the Entrenchments for posting an equal number to the Detachment in the works to be ready to sustain and to relieve each other; ordered the brush to be cut away and made into Fascines.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 67

15th. I went to reconnoitre the Hills by the Entrenchment to encamp an equal number to the Detachment in the Trenches that they might avoid so much marching and be ready to support if occasion. Very bad weather. The Enemy fired a great deal and threw a great many shells. At night the 13-Inch Mortar was got up and two others on the Road. About Eleven, the light house battery fired and threw up some Rockets as a signal of ships sailing out of the Harbour; this was in the night, Sir C. Hardy answered the signal and the Frigate went out, the light house battery firing 5 shots at her. Before daybreak Capt. Sutherland at the end of the N. E. Harbour was attacked and there was a great deal of firing. The Grenadiers of Br. Wolfes Corps went to sustain him, and all the light Infantry. It was soon over, they retreated, and by a Deserter from them who was very intelligent they were 100 came from Miray where they left Monsr. Boisbere<sup>50</sup> with 203, the whole Corps consisting of 303 Men, Major Scott pursued, the Deserter shewing him the Road but he could not get up with them. They went off in a great hurry. If he could have overtaken them after their Ammunition was fired and in their retreat and a river to pass to joyn Monsr. Boisbere, he might have had great advantages by this Deserter. 50 savages went at the same time to the Head of Gaboreuse bay; I sent out 100 chosen men of McCurdys and Brewers Companys to try to find them. I sent out tents to be pitched for the Detachment that marched into the Trenches tonight that they may march into their tents as soon as relieved tomorrow.

50 CHARLES DESCHAMPS DE BOISHEBERT: Born in Quebec. Entered army at fifteen, and served in various parts of Canada in following years. In 1754 he commanded the fort at the mouth of the St. John river on the Bay of Fundy; he retired from it on the approach of a force sent by General Monckton after the fall of Fort Beauséjour, in 1755. In 1758 he led a force of French and Indians to Louisbourg, but was unable to give assistance; he was beaten off by the British and forced to retreat.

## 68 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

16th. Towards night Br. Wolfe pushed a Corps forward and took possession of the Hills in the front of the Barasoy.<sup>51</sup> I sent 4 Companys of Grenadiers to support it. He immediately threw up some work and established himself there; they threw a vast deal of fire on him from the Town and the Shipping.

17th. The fire continued very great from the Town and the Shipping and our Batteries fired a great deal on the Town and the Shipping. I went round the Entrenchments, sent M. Mackellar to see what could be done to take all the advantages we could of this Post of Br. Wolfes, resolved on a Communication from the Entrenchment on the Right to a round hill which was to have the Parallel extended from the left to joyn the attack. Worked at night on the Battery. The Mortar Battery of one 13-Inch, 2 ten-inch and 4 eight-inch Mortars was ready at night; we lost some men, several wounded, Lt. Howe of the Royal killed.

18th. The fire not quite so great as yesterday tho' all night they fired musketry from the covered way as if they expected a general attack. They threw a great many shells, one near to the right of the Camp killed Mr. Child of the Artillery storekeeper.

19th. Relieved the Trenches by Batts., forming the 14 Regts. into three Brigades. A great deal of firing from the covered way at night and two deserters came in; one man taken prisoner on the Right.

20th. Br. Wolfe battered the Bastion Dauphin with great success, dismounted some guns. At night a great fire from

<sup>51</sup> Also spelled *Barasoi*. This term was applied by the French Acadians to a marshy area with shallow water. The modern spelling is *Barachois*. At Louisbourg it was on the south shore of the harbour, west of the Dauphin Bastion.

the covered way killed and wounded some of our Men but not many; they fired enough to have destroyed the whole Army.

21st. A Lt. of the Highlanders killed. In the afternoon one of the Ships had something blew up in it which made a great explosion and sat two more on fire. They burned furiously, it must have been by some accident and not intended; they were L' Entreprenant, Le Capricieux, Le Superbe. Le Prudent and Le Bienfaisant remained.

22nd. Two Batteries in the right opened with thirteen 24-Pounders and 7 Mortars and fired with great success. The Enemy likewise fired very well on them and threw their shells extreamly well. One shot went just into the Muzzle of a 24-Pounder and stuck there as if it had been forged to be rammed in. The shells set the Citadel on fire. Last night Lt. Wellington of the 3rd Battn. of R. Americans<sup>52</sup> in going the rounds on the Right lost his way and was taken prisoner by Cape Noir; a Deserter informed me of it. A Battery begun on the left for four 24-Pounders against the flank of the Citadel Bastion.

23rd. The Admiral sent me on shore 400 thirty-two pound shot. The Parallel on the left went on with great success; a second parallel formed and a little Redoute on the Right. Last night the cohorns were used, but not with great success. Two

52 ROYAL AMERICAN REGIMENT, OR 60TH: After Braddock's defeat the British Government decided to raise an American regiment of four battalions of 1000 each, mainly recruited in the Colonies. Nearly one third of the officers were Protestants of Swiss, French, Dutch and German origin, who had had army training. Among these were Henri Bouquet, Frederick Haldimand, the three Prevost brothers, and Samuel Holland. The new regiment was named "Royal American Regiment of Foot" or the 62nd; the number was changed to the 60th, in 1756. Under the genius of Lieut.-Colonel Bouquet, commanding the 1st Battalion, the regiment reached a high state of efficiency, adopting Colonial methods of equipment, simplified drill, open formations, and native methods of warfare.

## 70 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

mortars sent to the left to throw stones. The Enemy fired all sorts of old Iron Nails &c on every occasion. 400 seamen worked last night on another Battery. Monsr. Bastide got on horseback today being the first time since he had the Contusion on the 8th of July which threw him into the Gout. Our Batteries fired with great success. Burning the Town is spoiling our own nests but it will probably be the shortest way of taking it . . . I however ordered Col. Williamson to confine the throwing of the Shells as much as he could to the works. Lt. Murray of the Highland Regt. was killed yesterday in the Trenches. This night the Shells set fire to the Barracks and they burned with great Violence. Capt. Mansell from the Light house reported they were repairing the Island Battery, and that he wanted Ammunition. I wrote to the Admiral to desire Sir C. Hardy might supply the four 32-Pounders and two 24-Pounders with ammunition that he might undo what the Enemy was repairing, as well as continue firing on the Town. I went twice over the Trenches.

24th. Fire was brisk on our side. Col. Williamson silenced their Guns and burnt a part of the Barracks last night which we had better not have done. The Town looked very much in ruins. A Battery of four Guns was finished last night to play against the right Flank of the Citadel. Col. Bastide and M. Mackellar thought there would be too great a fire against it, and were against opening it; it was opened in the Afternoon. Yesterday 400 seamen finished the Battery on the Right. This night 400 more were sent and worked at carrying ammunition and taking five Guns for another Battery near the 4 Gun Battery. Two hundred Miners were sent on shore by the Admiral which with 100 before makes a Corps of 300. 150 worked this night at the Trenches and advanced the work very well tho' the beginning of the night the Enemy fired a great

deal against them; one of the Ships fired too. On the opening of the 4 Gun Battery they fired from the Citadel and Bastion Dauphin, but our men firing small Arms into the Embrazures beat them off their Guns. They flung a shell tonight quite into the Camp between the Royal and Hopsons.

25th. The Batteries played with great success. The Admiral wrote me word he intended to take or destroy the Prudent and the Bienfaisant in the Harbour and had ordered 600 Men under the Command of Capts. Laforey<sup>53</sup> and Balfour<sup>54</sup> to do it at night. I ordered all the Batteries at night to play as much as possible to keep the Enemys attention to the land. In the evening I went to the Trenches and stayed there till two o'clock and began to despair of the boats coming, but at last they came and took the Bienfaisant, burnt the Prudent with the loss of three men. 152 Prisoners taken and some Englishmen that were taken in English Ships on board the Prudent. The Bienfaisant was towed into the N. E. Harbour.

26th. In the morning I received a note from the Governour with proposals for a Capitulation. The Admiral came on shore and shewed me his scheme of sending six ships into the Harbour. We wrote a joint letter to the Governour, insisting on the Garrison being Prisoners of War. I had an Answer which I answered again very short and the Governour then consented, sent out Lt. Col. Anthony and two more officers to settle the Capitulation. I wrote it and sent two back, kept the Lt. Col. as hostage. I intended to take possession of Port Dauphin but on the representation of the Lt. Col. deferred it to 8 o'clock morning. The Troops relieved the Trenches as usual.

27th. Major Farquhar with the three eldest Companys of Grenadiers took possession of Port Dauphin. I sent Br.

53 CAPTAIN JOHN LAFOREY, of Sloop *Hunter*.

54 CAPTAIN GEORGE BALFOUR, of Fire Vessel *Aetna*.

## 72 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Whitmore to the Governour to see the Garrison lay down their Arms, to send the Arms out of the Town and to take what Guards were wanted for the Works, the Magazines and Stores from the Trenches. The Garrison lay down their Arms at 12 o'clock, 5000 Firelocks, 11 Colours. I ordered the 3d Brigade that was to have relieved the Trenches to encamp on the Glacis, to relieve all the Guards in the morning. The Union was hoisted at the Citadel.

28th. We had very foggy weather, the Admiral intended to go into the Harbour but could not, I had a survey taken of what could be done to the works at present.

29th. Sir C. Hardy came into the Harbour. We began to repair the works, caryed on Fascines, Picquets and Gabions for that Purpose. The Grenadier Companys all joined their Batts. The Sergts we had sent, one from the Governour and the other from us, came back from Miray, and said Monsr. Boisbere was marched away. I ordered a road for the Artillery to the Town, the bridge to be made and west gate cleared.

30th. The Admiral sent me word he would dispatch the Shannon (i.e., to England, J.C.W.) so I sent my brother<sup>55</sup> directly. They sailed at ten at night.

31st. The Admiral came into the Harbour. Town saluted him with seventeen Guns. I went on board the Admiral and then to the Island Battery. The Ships crowded into the Harbour and the York fell on board the Bedford but did no mischief. At night it rained and blew very hard.

### *August:*

1st. Very foggy and bad in the morning, I went on board the Admiral to talk to him of the news we had last night

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 73

of Genl. Abercromby's having failed in his attack<sup>56</sup>; tho this came from no absolute authority I fear 'tis true, I told the Admiral the thing I wished to do was to get the Prisoners on board as fast as possible, and if it was practicable for the Army to go to Quebeck, I thought it the best scheme. If that could not be effected, I supposed I should hear from Genl. Abercromby that a reinforcement to him would be very acceptable; in which case I would send him five or six Regts. and make a Diversion up the River St. Lawrence with three Batts., leaving three or four in Garrison at Louisburg, and send a Battn. or two to St. Johns River<sup>57</sup> in the bay of Fundy.

2nd. Fine weather. Many of the Transports got into the Harbour. The Admiral wrote me word he would get the Garrison on board in two or three days. We continued levelling the Trenches and repairing the works of the Town. My eyes grew very sore and troublesome to me.

3d. I was to have dined at Sir C. Hardys. Went there in the afternoon and to the light house; talked to the Admiral of going to Quebec. He seemed to think it impossible. One of the Transports had run aground in coming into the Harbour and beat a piece out of her bottom. The Admiral said it would put a stop to embarking the Garrison a day or two longer. We continued levelling all our works. I sent the Quarter master General and an Engineer to view the Barracks and Houses of the Town that we might prepare for the Garrison.

4th. Several more Transports coming in the Admiral went on shore; was saluted with 17 Guns the same as when he came into the Harbour. We continued the repairs and

56 At Ticonderoga.

57 It was decided to send troops to the mouth of the river St. John (in what is now New Brunswick) and to take the fort held by the French under Boishébert. Lieut.-Col. Monckton was given command.

## 74 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

mending the Roads to get the Artillery into Town, the rain spoiling the Roads.

5th. I went on board the Admiral. He thought it impossible for the Army to go to Quebec but would give orders to Sir C. Hardy to go with some ships up the river. I offered any number of men that could be taken up. Desired ships to go to Espagnolle and I sent privately to get Pilots. Many of the inhabitants came in, several Germans, all willing to stay or to go to Lunenburg. The Sloops that were sent to the different places to bring the Inhabitants all returned. The Governour and some Attendance came today to pay me a visit in Camp. I walked back with him to the Town. As we had some robbing in Camp, and some Thieves taken up, I ordered for the first time a General court martial.

6th. The repairs of the works went on very fast. I dined at the Admirals and told him that I wished to get things on as fast as possible; said a Battn. or two would be sufficient to go to the River St. Johns; that what I wished to do was to go to Quebeck. The Admiral thought it not possible, and he could not, till the Garrison was embarked, send Transports to the bay of Fundy. He wished to have the report spread that we were going to Quebec, and he intended to send Sir C. Hardy with six ships up a part of the River St. Lawrence. I proposed two or three Batts. to go with them, but the Admiral said it would be of no use, and before anything could be done we must get the Garrison away . . . ordered 200 Foot, 50 L. Infantry, 30 Rangers.

7th. I ordered 300 Infantry from Whitmore's, Bragg's, Warburton's and Hopson's and 200 Light Infantry and Rangers for to go to the Island of St. Johns tomorrow. The Admiral assured me he would embark the Garrison the first

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 75

moment he could and that then we should begin our future operations, that it was impossible to do it before. M. Dalling with 300 to Espagnolle.<sup>58</sup>

8th. Col. Rollo<sup>59</sup> embarked with the Detachment for St. Johns,<sup>60</sup> Major Murray was taken ill, I was forced to send Major Wray in his room. The Admiral sent me a letter that he intended to embark the whole Garrison the next day.

9th. I ordered a field officer and four Companies of Grenadiers to be a Guard to the embarkation of the French Troops and to keep good order. Cambis, Artois, Bourgoyne, La Marine and Volontaires Etrangers were put on board, I went to the Admiral and wrote down what I thought would be proper for him and me to sign after considering what could be done.

58 Spanish Bay, now Sydney Harbour.

59 LORD ROLLO: Fifth Lord Rollo. Born, 1700. Entered army after reaching forty. Made Captain of 22nd regt. of Foot, 1743; Major in 1750; Lieut.-Col. in 1758, when he succeeded to the title, and fought in the Louisbourg campaign. After the capture he was sent in August to Isle St. Jean (now Prince Edward Island) to superintend the surrender and deportation of the French troops and inhabitants and to build Fort Amherst. He remained at Louisbourg during the next two winters, and, in the spring of 1760, he took the 22nd and 40th regiments to Quebec, joining James Murray's force which marched to Montreal. In 1760 he was made a full Colonel and Brigadier-General in America. In 1761 he commanded an army which captured Domenica from the French, and later joined Monckton's army which took Martinique in 1762. He then joined Lord Albermarle in his attack on Havanna, but became ill and had to go to England. He died in Leicester in 1765.

60 ISLE ST. JEAN, now Prince Edward Island.



### III

From August 10, 1758 to November 20, 1758

This Section describes procedures at Louisbourg after the capture, the departure of Sir Charles Hardy and Wolfe for the Gulf of St. Lawrence; Amherst's departure for Boston with troops, reception in Boston, march to Albany, N.Y., conference with General Abercromby at Lake George, visit to New York, return to Halifax where he received his commission as Commander-in-Chief, and departure again for New York.

#### *August:*

10th. I wrote to Mr. Pitt and sent a copy of my two last Letters and of the Capitulation. The Admiral dispatched this day the Hawke Sloop to England. The sailors were put on board. I had two Companies of Granadiers to keep good order.

11th. The weather very good. I wish we could get out on our different operations for no time should be lost. I was obliged to have a Notorious Thief hanged today to put a stop to Robberies which began to be frequent in Camp. The Seamen were employed in trying to get up the Ships Sunk in the Harbours mouth but with little success; the Waters so deep they dont in the least shut up the Harbour.

12th. The Ships & transports were to Sail with the Garrison the next morning if the wind would let them. I went to take my leave of Mons. & Madam de Droucour, who at night went on board the Terrible, and Le Marquis Desgouttes<sup>61</sup> went on board the Dublin. We continued bringing the Ammunition,

61 LE MARQUIS DESGOUTTES: Commander of French Squadron at Louisbourg.

## 78 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Artillery, Artillery Stores &c as fast as we could from the Camp. The Admiral gave me a list of the Ships for the River St. Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy which I ordered victualled.

13th. I dined with the Admiral. The Ships could not get out this morning the wind quite contrary and bad weather. I went round the Town in the Afternoon. The Island (Battery) was repairing, as well as the works of the Town. I ordered Q Masters & Camp colourmen out to mark a Camp that we might move nearer to the Harbour when we are to embark. The commanding Officer of the Artillery told me he could not in less than eight days get the things belonging to the Train clear off the ground. All this puts a terrible Stop to our future operations.

14th. It was early this morning I ordered out the Camp colourmen. I went three or four miles on the Road towards Miray, a good road; many Bridges over the Little Rivulets that cross the Country, and little abatis made at the Passes to have stopped our march if we had landed on that side. We saw two Ships get out, but the wind beginning to blow the others did not attempt. In the Afternoon it blew a Storm with a great wind; it was so dark and so rainy and the wind so violent the Q-Masters were obliged to come back without having marked all the ground.

15th. The Q-Masters were out at five this morning. I ordered the Army to be ready to decamp at a moments warning, So soon as the Q-Masters came back and the Tents were dry I intended to move. At ten I beat the General Assembly half an hour after and marched at eleven, leaving a Capt. Guard at the Provision Cove, an Officers Guard at the Hospital which cant be moved yet, the light Infantry & Rangers remaining in their Posts and Capt. Mansell with his Detachment at the Ance

## JEFFERY AMHERST

*From an engraving in Dr. J. C. Webster's collection, after the original portrait by Gainsborough in the National Portrait Gallery.*



## WILLIAM AMHERST

Served in America as Aide-de-Camp to his brother Jeffery, 1758-1760.

*From a copy of the original portrait now owned by Lord Amherst.*



## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 79

a Gautrer, Capt. Sutherland at the N. E. Harbour and Capt. Smith at the Redoute on the Miray Road. All other Detachments joined the Camp. We were lucky in having fine weather to move. The nine Regts. encamped with one Regt. Braggs on the Right on the Miray Road and the left Regt. Highlanders near the Barasoy. The Q. M. General had made a mistake and encamped the Regts. differently from what I intended. I intended my Regt. & the Highlanders on the Right, as they were on the left before, that every Regt. might have the shortest Road possible to move & and bring all their Baggage etc. The five Regts. on the Glacis remained as encamped, the Artillerys Camp just at the end of the Barasoy as the nearest place to the Town when the Stores embarked. I went on board the Admiral when the General beat to acquaint him of moving Camp, and the Regts. should embark whenever he pleased. He said the Ships were not victualled but should be as fast as possible. Capt. Rodney sailed this morning with the Garrison of Louisburg and a fair wind. I ordered the Regt. to be ready to embark. Lt. Mesurier wounded by a Patrole.

16th. I met all the commanding Officers at the Head of the Highland Regt. and told them their Destinations. Mons. & Madam Prevost<sup>62</sup> and the Admiral dined with me. At night it rained extreemly hard, came quite through the house I was in, in a stream; it continued all the night.

17th. I put a stop to all work and made it impossible to move anything of the Hospital this day. I went round the old encampment in the Afternoon. It had rained thro all the Hospitals. A great quantity of Shot and Stores still left there.

18th. I ordered the Redoubt by the Miray road to be pulled down; it was too near the Town to be of any service for

62 JACQUES PREVOST: Commissaire Général de la Marine and Intendant de L' Isle Royale.

## 80 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

a Guard for the Security of going in the Environs. I went to Rouilly to call in the Germans. The Defiance man of war of 60 Guns arrived from Halifax, and the Grammont from a Cruise. One of the Ships of Major Dalling's<sup>63</sup> Detachment arrived from Espagnolle loaded.

19th. The Admiral told me the Ships would be ready to go to the River St. Lawrence. Mon. Prevost and Family sailed this morning for France. I got down Part of the General Hospital and brought it to Cape noir, where I likewise fixed the Hospitals for my Regt, Anstruthers, Braggs and those of the Garrison of Louisburg.

20th. I got a list of the Ships for the three Regts. Amhersts, Braggs and Anstruthers, and the Admiral said they might embark to morrow evening. I thought the sooner the better, and so ordered all the things, their Tents, Camp necessarys, etc on board at nine to morrow, and the Regts. to embark at twelve. Major Dalling came back to day with his Detachment from Espagnolle and brought 450 pieces of square timber, 1600 Plank, 120000 Shingles. left behind 800 pieces of square timber, 1500 Piquets, and 1200 loads of Wood.

21st. It blew hard, but the Regts. embarked according to Order. As the Commanding Officer reported to me they were a good deal crowded, I desired the Admiral to put the Grenadier Companys on board the Men of War. I ordered a fortnights Spruce beer for each Regt. The wind blew hard the whole day but all got on board without any accident. The Carpenters were repairing the Tops of Houses in Town to get them wind and water tight or they will rotten and fall down.

63 JOHN DALLING: Major of 28th Regt. Feb. 2, 1757; Lieut.-Colonel of 36th, Dec. 4, 1767. At Louisbourg, 1758. Sent on punitive expedition with Wolfe to Gulf of St. Lawrence after fall of Louisbourg. Fought at Quebec, 1759.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 81

22nd. Began to level the Epaulement. About 2000 men at work every day cleaning and repairing the Town and Works. I dined with Mr. Durel. The Ships with the Troops on board warped out of the N. E. Harbour but the wind would not permit them to sail. In the afternoon walked with the Admiral and Sr. C. Hardy along the Coast.

23rd. The Transports with the Troops could not get out. I sent to the Admiral a Return of the number to embark for the Bay of Fundy and a Regiment to Halifax. There were not Ships ready for the whole. I ordered Otways and Moncktons to embark the next morning. The Epaulement was completely levelled this day, but all the Hospital not yet moved from the other Camp.

24th. Sr. C. Hardy with the Regts. for St. Lawrence River could not get out. I ordered the four Companys of Rangers, Gorhams, McCurdys, Starks & Brewers & Br. Lawrences Battn. to go on Board to morrow. Otways & Moncktons embarked this day at twelve.

25th. The weather so bad the troops could not embark, I however ordered the Rangers on board, but there were no boats. I took in all the out Posts, sent a Sub & 24 men from the Garrison Regts. to the N. E. Harbour where the Sutherland was.

26th. I wrote to the Admiral that all the Regts. were ready to embark whenever the Distribution of Ships were made. We had fine weather to-day. Lawrences Battn. & Rangers embarked. I gave Co. Young his orders, and a letter to Br. Lawrence & one to Col Monckton with orders to him to go to the River St. Johns. I dined on shore with the Admiral at the Pursers. Sr. C. Hardy could not get out at night. The Agent of the transports brought a list of Transports for three Regts.

## 82 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

I ordered them on board tomorrow. Transports for the other two Regts. not yet ready.

27th. The Royals, Webbs & Fraziers embarked. Fine weather, but Sr. C. Hardy could not get out. An accident happened at Forbes's Regt.; a Barrel of Powder blew up wounded a boy and five man. At night I got a List of the Ships for the other two Regts; ordered them to embark to-morrow.

28th. Forbes's & Lascelles's embarked at one o'clock in the afternoon. Sr. C. Hardys Fleet got out; the Admiral dined with me. I was employed all day in settling my Accounts, writing to Mr. Pitt, giving Mr. Whitmore his orders. It was one in the morning before I had finished my letters and I went on board the Captain directly that no time be lost if it should be fair at day break for sailing.

29th. The wind was quite contrary and blew hard. I dined on board the Admiral, received a note from Mr. Hancock from Boston that the Duke of Marlborough &c were landed at St. Maloes; walked over the Island Battery in the evening and over the Point de Rochefort.

30th. The wind fair in the morning, a Signal for sailing, the Halifax & Bay of Fundy Ships got out. I wrote a letter to Mr. Pitt and sent all my Dispatches to Capt. Beard in the Defyance, then went on board the Admiral and we got out of the Harbour at twelve. The Town Saluted with 17 Guns on our sailing which were returned so soon as we were out of the Harbour. The wind fair till the Evening.

31st. The wind contrary, we were obliged to tack and could make but a little way, we had with us 30 Transports; the Captain and Tyloe made 40 Sail.

*September:*

1st. The wind continued contrary and blew strong. We made land in the afternoon and saw the Gut of Canso but could make no great way; the Transports all in Sight, but a little straggling.

2nd. The wind continued contrary. The Transports straggled a good deal; one hoisted a signal of distress. The Captain sent the Tyloe down to see what was the matter; it proved something of the foremast broke which they could repair. In the afternoon it grew cloudy and rain coming on with wind; the wind changed and was pretty fair. We stood on an easy sail that we might not lose the sternmost Ships.

3rd. The wind continued fair all last night. This morning we saw the Ships bound for Halifax. The Ship that had hoisted a signal of Distress who the Tyloe was ordered to remain by was repaired & came up very well . . . I wrote to Mr. Pownal<sup>64</sup> and to General Abercromby intending to send Major Robertson in the Tyloe, as he may get to Boston before the Transports can get there, that I may have any orders Gen. Abercromby has sent & not lose any time in disembarking the Regts. A signal was made for the Tyloe but the wind was so small she could not get up to us.

4th. The wind rather contrary. The Tyloe came up and Major Robertson went on board. The Transports greatly straggled and some gone greatly to leeward by obstinacy. Capt. Bryce complained of the Sheffield. We were forced to go to the Leeward to get them all together. The negligence and obstin-

64 THOMAS POWNALL: Born 1722. Trained in Board of Trade and Plantations under Lord Halifax. Lieut.-Governor of New Jersey, 1753. In 1757, he succeeded Shirley as Governor of Massachusetts. In 1759, made Governor of South Carolina; resigned in 1760. In 1762-1763, Comptroller of Commissariat with forces in Germany. Entered Parliament in 1767. Died, 1805.

## 84 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

acy of some of the Transports may lose us several days in getting to Boston, and they ought to be punished severely for it.

5th. The wind remained contrary, fine pleasant weather. About three in the afternoon it changed a little more favourable and was quite fair at night; at two in the morning it changed and blew.

6th. Very foggy in the morning, could see but a very little way; continued foggy the whole day. We fired a Gun every Hour and when we tacked fired four Guns; the wind was very contrary.

7th. Foggy in the morning; at nine it cleared up and we saw but 18 of our Fleet. At noon fine weather. We brought a Sloop to from New London bound to Louisbourg; knew no news. Saw land which the Pilot said was La Heve. The wind still contrary. Towards night it came fair; we saw 25 of our Fleet; we could make but little sail as some were so far astern.

8th. The wind northerly; very fine weather. Saw the Land plain, Cape Razoir. We were off Cape Sable at about 5 leagues distance at two o'clock. Fine fishing; pulled out Cods, Tusks & Haddocks as fast as we threw in, during a little time that it was calm.

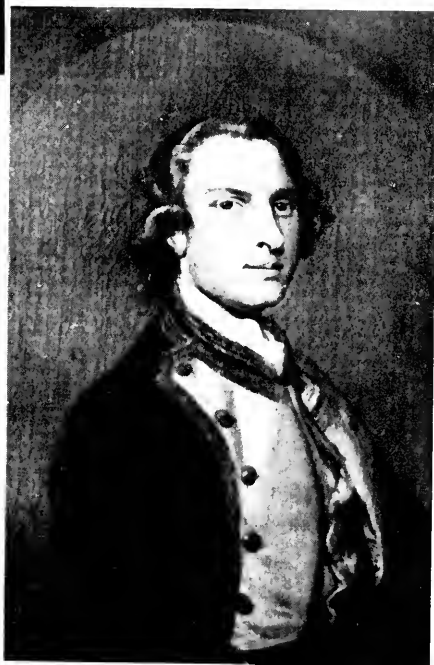
9th. Fine weather; a breeze of wind quite fair that we went at three Nots per Hour and we could have got on much faster, but so many of our Fleet so far astern that we must have left them quite behind if we had made more sail.

10th. Very foggy, the wind pretty fair. At noon we supposed we were more than half way between Cape Sable & Boston. We fired fog Guns. It cleared up once for five or six minutes, but the Fog then came on again & continued the whole day. At night it rained excessively hard, but little wind.



HON. EDWARD BOSCAWEN  
Commander-in-Chief of the British Fleet  
at Louisbourg, 1758.

*From a mezzotint in Dr. J. C. Webster's collection.*



JOHN AMHERST, R.N.  
Brother of Jeffery Amherst.

*From a copy of the original portrait by Reynolds,  
owned by Lord Amherst.*



## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 85

11th. Fine weather, the wind fair, tho but little of it. At Eleven a Fog came on for a short time but dispersed. Very little wind, almost calm, that the Ship made no way & some of our fleet a long way ahead. We caught Cod & Pollock as fast as we threw in.

12th. At eight in the morning Saw Cape Anne ahead. The wind fair, but little of it. The middle of the day we had a fine Gale and neared the land; at six in the Evening we stretched in to within a mile of the light House, when the wind coming off Shore, we were obliged to anchor. Major Robertson and Capt. Abercromby<sup>65</sup> came in a sloop & brought me a letter from General Abercromby and a Message and Letters from Governour Pownall that every thing should be ready for the march of the Troops. I sent orders directly to the Regts. to be ready to disembark to prepare for a march.

13th. The wind contrary in the morning, ten of the Transports came in. One had run aground on some Rocks in the Evening before and received a good deal of Damage. As the Captain could not sail up further, I sat out in the barge to go the ten miles which was the distance we were from the Town. In passing by the Castle we were met by Mr. Paxton, who came from the Governour to desire I would dine with him. The Castle saluted with 13 Guns. I had desired to have no ceremony but the whole Town was turned out and as I was received by the principal People I was obliged to walk in procession to the Governours where I arrived about eleven o'clock.

65 JAMES ABERCROMBY JR.: Son of General Abercromby, who was defeated by Montcalm at Ticonderoga, in 1758. Captain in the 42nd Highlanders. Aide-de-Camp to General Amherst. He carried Amherst's conditions, preparatory to the surrender of Montreal, to the Marquis de Vaudreuil. Retired on half-pay, 1763. In 1770 entered active service as Lieut.-Colonel of 22nd Regt. under General Gage in America. Fatally wounded at Bunker's Hill, 1775.

## 86 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

14th. All the Regiments landed and camped on the Common joining the Town. I intended to have marched the next morning but the Commanding Officers all representing it as absolutely necessary for their providing necessaries for their men and taking care of their sick, baggage &c, I resolved to halt one day—, this day we had a Thanksgiving for the success of His Majesty's Arms by the taking of Louisburg. I dined at the Governours. Rum was much too plenty in the Town.

15th. The Troops remained encamped on the Common of Boston where Thousands of People came to see them and would give them Liquor and make the men Drunk in Spite of all that could be done. I sent patrols round the Town all day & night.

16th. I marched in the morning & in spite of all that could be done several men were drunk. I was obliged to leave the Qs Guards of all the Regts. to take care of them & bring them up when sober. We marched ten miles, encamped at Watertown. Every man had a Pound of Beef delivered to him, and they received three pounds of bread each this morning for three days. I sent Capt. Abercromby back with a Letter to the General. The Governour rode with me most of the March.

17th. I could not march till eight in the morning, there were so many men behind. I marched to the Right by Platoons, yesterday by files from the Center of the Line. We encamped to-day at Sudbury as we drove Bullocks with us we delivered it ready for the men by Laying it at the Head of the Regt. the Q. Masters weighing it. I got up this night fifty men that were straggling behind owing to the Rum.

18th. I marched at Day Break from the left each Regt. marching by files from its Center; sent the Q. Masters & Camp colourmen forward with a Company of Grenadiers & the light

THOMAS POWNALL  
Governor of Massachusetts, 1757-1759.

*From a mezzotint in Dr. J. C. Webster's  
collection.*



FRANCOIS GASTON, CHEVALIER  
DE LEVIS  
Commander of French troops in Canada  
after the death of Montcalm.

*From an engraving in Dr. J. C. Webster's  
collection.*



infantry of Fraziers, made a halt for half an hour on the Road, gave apples to the men, got water at a Brook and arrived at Marlborough about eleven. From the Halt I marched by the left. We halted Forbes on the Right, Royal on the left, had an orchard of Apples close by, sent a Sergt. and 2 men from each Platoon to fetch them for the men.

19th. My Brother Jack who came with me as far as this returned this morning to Boston. The Q. Masters & Camp Colourmen with the Grenadiers & Light Infantry of Forbes's marched at 4 in the morning. The General beat before daybreak, assembly half an hour after. We marched by the Right each Regt. from its Center. Where we encamped last night, there was a fine piece of water in the front of my Quarters at Col. Williams. We had a fine cool march. The beginning of the day halted half an hour at a very large piece of water within four miles of Worcester; arrived at Worcester 15 miles at noon, delivered two days Provisions to the men, posted out Guards a Capt & 60 in the rear & 20 on the Right, Ditto to the left. All the Roads of this Country Sixty two feet wide.

20th. Halted at Worcester. Went round the Country to see the great clearing & improvement that had been made in forty years time by Judge Chandler, and he rode out with me & shewed me all that was done. The Town in a very pretty situation finely watered & the improvements very great; The Homes all built of wood, but this will probably change and in an 100 years, I imagine, this Country will want wood. The woods are not very thick. The Weymouth Pine the handsomest, but even that as well as the other fir ugly enough when old. The oaks of four different sorts but I see none so fine as the English Oak, no Holley, Laurell or Yew and scarcely any Ash and none of the evergreens finer than what I have seen in England.

## 88 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

21st. I marched at day break by the Right by files from the Center of each Battn. Halted on the Road half an Hour and encamped at Harrington's at Brookfield, 14 miles; arrived in Camp at Eleven o'clock. Marched some Light Infantry on the Flanks.

22nd. I marched at daybreak. Halted on the Road and arrived at Weston, eleven miles; at eleven o'clock, encamped there. I marched by the left, Light Infantry of Highlanders forming the advanced Guard and Grenadiers & Light Infantry of the Royal the rear Guard. I had the Beef allways divided as soon as they got to Camp and ordered in from the Country all the vegetables that could be got. I ordered the General not to beat if it rained very hard but wait till ordered.

23rd. It rained in the morning and was likely to continue so. The General beat at 6 and we marched by the left, thro the worse Road we had yet passed, to Scott's at Palmer, 11 miles. The Road was not traced out as the rest we had passed; the Country less cleared, more stony and mountainous. It rained till towards the later end of the march. We passed a River about Knee deep and in the Afternoon we had fine weather. The Light Infantry & Grenadiers of Webbs formed the advanced Guard & those of Forbes's the rear.

24th. I marched before day break by the right and went through a woody Country to Springfield. No part cleared, but the woods with no high underwood, as they have burnt it constantly for nearly two years past, and the Country people say it has spoiled the Ground. I arrived at Springfield in good time. Lt. Col. Robertson met me; he had been to the green wood & thought by Pioneers and the help of some Country People to work we might pass that way, so I changed my intended route. Springfield has five Parishes about 100 Families in each; logs

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 89

on both Sides the Connecticut River; is 75 miles from the Sea & the River is very fine, about 500 yards over, but there are some falls between the Town and the Sea that hinder Ships from passing. Navigable for flat bottomed boats. A Sloop of 70 tons was built at Springfield & passed the falls & Rocks in a Flood. I received a letter from Mr. Pitt of June 10th.

25th. I got all the ferry boats & other boats that could be found & passed over the five battalions, and encamped on the other side to be ready to march the next day. I sent forward 200 Pioneers with Tools and the Light Infantry of Fraziers under the command of Major Clepham. We got boats enough to pass a Regiment & all its Baggage in an Hours time so the whole were over in good time, and encamped about half a mile from the water side. I settled every thing for the March and passed over, the waggons not coming in as ordered, I was forced to delay the march for a few Hours. Next morning I sent Col. Robertson forward.

26th. I received Letters from Governour Pownal, Lawrence, Monckton &c. The Detachments arrived at Boston from Halifax. I wrote to Gov. Pownal & Br. Lawrence, marched at 7 o'clock, encamped at Westfield, 8 miles from the last Camp. A cold day, weather quite changed, blew hard.

27th. I marched at seven o'clock by the Right and by half files with flank Platoons, the 4th of the Right Grenadiers forming the front & Flank Platoon & the 4th from the left the Rear & flank Platoon; the two Center Platoons ready allways to march likewise as flank Platoons. We marched through woods, bad roads & over Steep Hills eleven miles to Blandford where we encamped. Blandford was called Glasgow, it is a Settlement of 25 years, has a great deall of ground cleared round it for that time; twenty familes in it mostly Irish.

## 90 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

28th. I marched early, got into the green woods close by Blandford, the Road extremely bad, but not very mountainous. If the Country was cleared it would not appear mountainous; the ground good & the best Weymouth Pine and the largest Oaks I have seen but not so good by a great deal as in England. The best of all the Evergreens are ugly. I marched ten miles & lay on our Arms in the middle of the wood on Nobles Hill. Posted my out Posts and sent away ten men per Company & 20 Officers per Regt. to assist in bringing up the Baggage to the top of the Hill, but the Road was so bad I could only get up the Waggons of the Royal and some of Lascelles's.

29th. At day break I began getting up the remainder of the Waggons and baggage, & beat the General. 'Twas nine o'clock before all could be got up. Seven broken waggons left which we unloaded & brought the Baggage away; a Horse of Lascelles's killed by a tree falling. At nine the Assembly beat & I marched directly to number 1; about nine miles of bad road. There I got out of the green wood and encamped as soon as the waggons got up.

30th. I marched again early by the Right and half files with Flank Platoons; the ground would not permit to march by files or Platoons. Passed through woods to Sheffield about 9 miles and encamped a little beyond the Town; here I change waggons, Br. Doit assisting us. King Ben, Capt. Jacobs,<sup>66</sup> his Son and two more Indians came with an Interpreter to see me and dined with me. They came from Stockbridge, seven miles, where there is a settlement. Br. Doit lives here.

### *October:*

1st. The Troops halted. The Stockbridge Indians came; the King his Queen & Daughters & Capt. Jacobs dined with me.

<sup>66</sup> Captain Jacobs commanded a company of Indians in Robert Rogers' battalion. He was a Mohegan, his Indian name being Nawnawapateoonks.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 91

2nd. I marched at day break from the Right . . . A Messenger met me on the Road with a letter from Genl. Abercromby to come to him so soon as I conveniently could. By the badness of the Roads all the waggons could not get up. We marched about fourteen miles when I intended to encamp but the Troops were obliged to lay on their Arms; it rained most excessively hard:

3rd. I sat out in the morning for Albany, fixed on the Camp for the Troops this night by Kinderhoo Mills, 14 miles from the other Camp. I went on 25 miles farther to Albany, fixed on a Camp for the Troops for the next day, seven miles from Albany. I passed the Hudsons River near a mile over. Capt. Christie met me. I got to Albany in good time. 500 houses in the Town, reckoning six in a House.

4th. I set out from Albany after having wrote to Col. Burton & given all necessary directions. Went to the fall at the Cohos on the Mohawk River, 9 miles from Albany. The water falls 72 feet perpendicular. From thence five miles to Half moon;<sup>67</sup> then 9 miles to Still Water,<sup>68</sup> and then 14 miles to Saratoga by water. At Still Water Capt. Abercromby brought me orders from the General that the Troops should halt at Albany till further orders. I sent Capt. Darcy back with letters to Col. Burton & to Lt. Col. Robertson. I got to Saratoga two Hours after dark & lay there that night. Capt. Kennedy<sup>69</sup> commanded in the Fort.

5th. I sat out early in the morning; it was a Frost.

67 A post on the west side of the Hudson between Albany and Fort Edward.

68 A post on the Hudson north of Halfmoon.

69 DAVID KENNEDY: Captain in 44th Foot in Braddock's expedition. Fought under Abercromby at Ticonderoga, 1758. In 1759 attached to Gage's 80th Light Infantry under Amherst. He was sent with a flag of truce to offer peace to the St. Francis Indians, by whom he was detained.

## 92 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Took an Escort with me to Fort Miller,<sup>70</sup> 17 miles; then took another from thence to Fort Edward,<sup>71</sup> 7 miles more. Dined with Col. Prevost at Fort Edward, and in the afternoon went to a Post halfway between Fort Edward and the Lake, being 7 miles, & then 7 miles farther to the Camp at the Lake. By this halfway Post there is a Rock that the french call the bounds between the English Country & Canada, and within three miles of the Camp I passed the ground where Monsr. de Dieskau's<sup>72</sup> affair began. The woods are not very thick and the Road all making good. I went to General Abercromby as soon as I got to Camp.

6th. Early in the morning I walked round the Camp and Lines. As there was no probability of attempting anything against Ticonderoga, I resolved to go to Halifax as soon as possible. I staid all day with Gen. Abercromby who saw the line out in the afternoon and settled with him that if my Regt. & Anstruthers should not be ordered to England, and if there was not room at Halifax, I should send them to Boston.

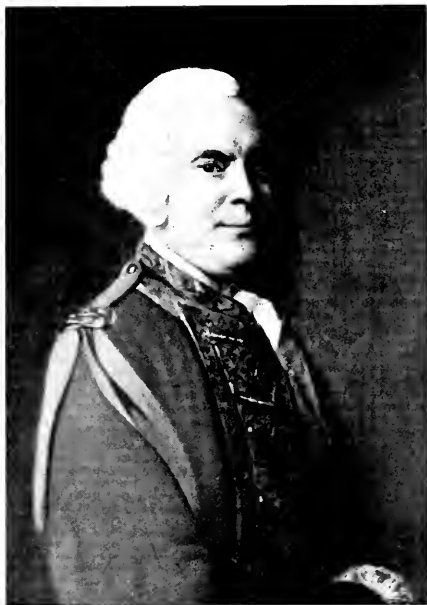
7th. I breakfasted with the General & sat out for Albany. Got to Fort Edward where I dined, & arrived at Saratoga before dark.

8th. I sat out by water from Saratoga to Stillwater, from Stillwater to Half moon & from thence to Albany where

70 FORT MILLER: On the Hudson between Saratoga and Fort Edward.

71 FORT EDWARD (Fort Lyman): Built by General Lyman, in 1755, on the east bank of the Hudson, 66 miles from Albany. Known by the French as Fort Lydius. After Johnson's defeat of Dieskau he changed the name to Fort Edward (1751). Later the fort was neglected, but was again repaired and strengthened by Lieut.-Colonel Eyre, in 1759. There were two bastions and two half bastions, the walls being made of timber and earth. There was a broad rampart, with a bomb-proof, a deep fosse with a drawbridge, a covered way and glacis. One side of the wall was washed by the river. Near the fort were several block houses.

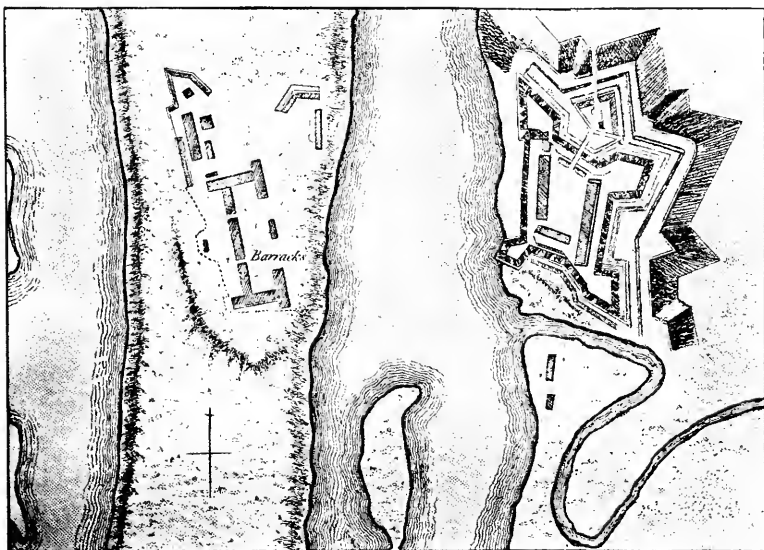
72 This refers to Baron Dieskau's defeat in 1755 by Sir William Johnson.



GENERAL JAMES ABERCROMBY

Defeated by Montcalm at Ticonderoga in 1758 and succeeded as Commander-in-Chief in America by Jeffery Amherst.

*From a copy of the original kindly given to me by the owner, Major R. W. Duff, Scotland. This is the first time the portrait has been reproduced.*



FORT EDWARD

On the Hudson River, 1763. Opposite the fort is a large island in the river with barracks and other buildings.



## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 93

I arrived about 4 in the Afternoon. Genl. Abercromby sent orders to Col. Fraser to march his Battn. to the German Flats where Br. Stanwix<sup>73</sup> is building a Fort.<sup>73a</sup> Sir Wm. Johnson sent intelligence of the enemy intending to march a body that way.

9th. I stayed at Albany till the Afternoon. Genl. Abercromby sent orders to Col. Burton to send the 2nd Battn. of the Royal with Frasers to Br. Stanwix, on a second report from Sir Wm. Johnson. I went on Board a Sloop for New York.

10th. In the morning the wind was contrary. I met Govr. De Lancey<sup>74</sup> who was going to Albany. He came on board and breakfasted. We could make but little way, when the tide was with us only. Tide rises at Albany  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet & this is 160 miles from New York.

11th. We were opposite Kinderhook in the morning. The wind came fair & we sailed very fast. Got at night beyond Livingstone House & to the Highlands. Passed a House where the boatmen told us that the woman had allways lived with

73 JOHN STANWIX: Born in England about 1690. Entered army, 1706; Lieut.-Colonel 1745; Dep. Q.M.G. of the forces, 1754. In 1756 Colonel-Commandant of 1st Batt. 60th Regt.; in charge of Southern District in America in 1758. Major-General, 1759. Strengthened fort at Pittsburg. Gained good-will of Indians. Lieut-General, 1761. On return to England made Governor of Isle of Wight. Drowned crossing to Ireland, 1765.

73a FORT STANWIX: Erected by Brigadier Stanwix, 1758, at the Oneida portage between the Mohawk and Wood Creek, on the line of communication between Albany and Oswego. There had been a previous post there, Fort Williams, built by Capt. Williams, in 1755, by order of Shirley. In 1776 repaired and renamed Fort Schuyler, after Gen. Philip Schuyler, nephew of Col. Peter Schuyler. In 1781 destroyed at Battle of Onshany. Modern Rome is built on the site.

74 JAMES DELANCEY: Born in New York, 1703. Son of a Huguenot emigrant. Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, 1729; Chief Justice, 1733. On the death of Governor Osborn, he, as Lieut.-Governor, was at the head of affairs from 1753 to 1755, and afterward as successor to Sir Charles Hardy, 1757-1760. He died in 1760.

## 94 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

two Husbands, one an Irishman & the other a Scotchman; the Children were from both Fathers. Some resembled one & some the other, the woman bedded with them night about, and they never quarrelled or had disputes.

12th. The wind very fair. We passed Mr. Philipps House,<sup>75</sup> Mr. De Lancey's & arrived at New York a little after dark.

13th. I staid at New York, went to see the Fort, the Governour's House and Town and rid round the environs which are very pretty. The Town did me the Honour to salute me with 15 Guns.

14th. I passed the Ferry in the morning to Long Island, went to Jamaica, 12 miles, where I dined, & then went to Baldins, 12 miles more, where I lay. A fine open Country all the way and a good deall improved.

15th. I went to Carll's, 14 miles, the last half through a wood of Oaks & the ground very poor. From thence 11 miles to Bledenburgs at Smiths Town, all the Road through the same kind of good & sandy ground. Near Smiths Town I passed a good River, the first I have seen on the Island. I lay at Mal-fords 14 miles from Bladenburgs.

16th. I went to River head, 16 miles; a large River goes to the East end of the Island from the Place, making a Fork of the Island. The tide came up to River head; from thence went to Canoe Place, 9 miles, all through a wood and very poor barren ground. A great deal of the Fox tail Fir & no inhabit-

75 PHILLIPS MANOR: A beautiful estate on the Hudson. Founded by Frederick Phillips, one of the founders of New York, who emigrated from Holland, 1658. He had bought two large properties on the river, the upper of which was Phillipsbourgh, containing 150 square miles, and the other, nearer New York, 240 square miles, named Fredericksbourgh Manor. In the revolution Colonel Phillips remained a Loyalist, and lost much of his property.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 95

ants in the woods. Went from Canoe Place to Southampton over an open Country 6 miles. Southampton has about 500 Houses in the whole Parish, I suppose six in a House, & good ground about it & some Hedges of black thorn & privet.

17th. I went to Sag. Harbour, 10 miles, when the Schooner with the baggage from New York met us. I took another Schooner for to carry the Horses & sailed for New London on the Continent. The wind blew hard & we got to New London, 10 Leagues, in three Hours. The Schooner with the Horses was to have set out at the same time, but waited for Hay or something, that we got out of sight before they sailed.

18th. The wind fair in the morning for Rhode Island & contrary for the Schooner with the Horses to come into New London. After walking about the Town which is well built and seems to have a good deall of Trade & a good Harbour for large Ships, with a battery of 7 Guns for the Protection of the Ships in the Harbour, I went on board at nine o'clock & arrived in the afternoon off Newport, but the wind came quite contrary & we could not get in till ten at night. From New London to Newport is 20 Leagues. Saw nothing of the Schooner with Horses.

19th. I went to see the Battery on the Island that covers the Ships in the Harbour. They are making a great piece of work of it, but it never can answer anything but covering the Harbour. An Enemy may land on the Island & march into the Town without coming that way. The Town large, well built, near 10,000 inhabitants, a large Church and several meeting Houses. The ground about the Town very good & pleasant prospects. Col. Mallborn has an extremely good House, much the best of any I have seen in America & pleasantly situated. In the Afternoon I went to the Bishop of Cloynes House, two

## 96 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

or three miles out of the Town, where he purchased a 100 Acres of land for 800 pounds English, which is now let for 100 ounces of Silver per year and is given by Dean Berkeley<sup>76</sup> as a Reward to the two best Scholars that are chosen from the Connecticut College annually, to which College he likewise sent a present of Books which cost 500 Pounds, which books lay at Boston a considerable time, the College disputing whether or not they should pay the freight from Boston to Connecticut.

20th. I remained at Newport. Had no Intelligence of the Schooner.

21st. Yet no news of the Schooner it is surprising what can become of them. I dined at Col. Malbones.

22nd. I left a Letter for the Gentleman in the other Schooner. I sat out for Providence. As we were sailing out of the Harbour met Capt. Darcy & Debbeig<sup>77</sup> in a boat from New London. The Horses gone to-day to Providence and Bristol Town which is on the Continent & ran aground off Tusket in the Afternoon. Went ashore in the Boat to Cranston & walked four miles to Providence; arrived there a little after dark.

76 In January 1729, the Rev. George Berkeley, the distinguished philosopher and scholar (who is better known as Bishop Berkeley; he was appointed Bishop of Cloyne in 1734), arrived in Newport, R.I. He bought a farm and built a house, which he occupied until 1731, when he returned to England. He gave his farm (known as Whitehall) to found scholarships at Yale College, and, also, gave the college nearly 1000 books.

77 HUGH DEBBEIG: Born 1731. Entered Royal Artillery, 1745. Engineer in Flanders, 1747-1748. In Scotland, 1748-51. Lieutenant in Royal Engineers and 37th Foot, 1757; Captain-Lieutenant, 1758, when he served at Louisbourg as Assistant Q.M.G. under Wolfe. Held similar position at Quebec, 1759, and also acted as engineer. After 1760 acted for a time as Chief Engineer in Nova Scotia. In 1762 was with William Amherst at recapture of St. John's, Newfoundland; Chief Engineer there, 1767. In 1775 Chief Engineer in America. In 1778 Chief Engineer on staff of Lord Amherst. Commander-in-Chief in Great Britain. Made General, 1803. Died, 1810.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 97

23rd. The Schooner not yet come up with my Baggage. I sat out, went 8 miles, to Bentham 10 miles, lay there at Mr. Brewster. The Colony of Rhode Island is divided from Massachusetts by a River about 3 miles from Providence; the Country well inhabited & clearing very fast but the Ground ruined with Indian Corn, and not much labour or work going on in the Farms.

24th. I went to Walpole, 8 miles, Dedham, 10 miles, & to Boston, 11 miles. The Governour met me & I dined with him.

30th. I sailed in the Massachusetts Sloop in the morning. Passed by Marble head, Salem, &, the wind being contrary, put into Gloucester, called Cape Anne Harbour, 10 Leagues from Boston.

31st. I went on shore and round the Town of Gloucester, where there are about 500 Houses and two meeting Houses & a Church. The Inhabitants rich, trade in fishing, have about 60 Schooners allways out & send their fish to different Ports; when dried sell it at ten Shillings per Quintal. I walked round with Mr. Sergeant. Went to see a very large stone on a Pivot that moved with a small force. This was an Island but the Sea, 16 years since, threw up the beach & stopped the course of the water near the Town.

### *November:*

5th. We sailed, but the wind was so very contrary we put back into Cape Anne Harbour, and, the wind coming fair, sailed at eight o'clock at night.

6th. The wind continuing fair we stood for Cape Sable, 75 Leagues from Cape Anne it blew hard.

3rd. In the morning the wind abated, and in the evening we spoke with a Schooner who told us at Six going down he

## 98 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

was four leagues from Cape Sable. The wind continued fair all night and we made the land in the morning & got into Lunenburg Harbour about one o'clock the 4th, and I went on shore and walked round the Town with Lt. Gilbert.

5th. In the morning sailed. 'Twas calm. In the Afternoon it blew hard & looked so bad that the Master was glad to run into Prospect Harbour, and it blew a storm at night & rained very hard. We watched all night by turns.

6th. The Storm continuing we remained in Prospect Harbour.

7th. Sailed in the morning and at two o'clock in the Afternoon arrived at Halifax. Dined with Govr. Lawrence . . .

9th. In the Afternoon Capt. Hollowell arrived from Boston with a Letter from Gov. Pownall and my Despatches sent from England in the New York Packet, containing duplicates of my Commission as Commander in Chief.

10th. Being the King's birth day the Guns in the Town and shipping fired after dinner. The 3 Companys Grenadiers assembled at the Governours & fired 3 volleys on the Health of the King & Royal Family being drunk.

11th. I walked to Point Pleasant and saw the Environs of the Town. Took Major Mackellar round to view the whole situation.

12th. Sunday, Admiral Durell expected in every day.

13th. I went in a boat to the end of the N.E. Harbour from thence to the Eastern battery, and then to Georges Island. At the Eastern Battery the barracks are very good for 112 men. The fort a square, one side is Masonry. When the whole is finished, it is good enough against Indians, having a

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 99

good ditch round. The Battery out of the Fort near the water, palisaded Right & Left.

14th. I went in a boat to Dartmouth, walked over the whole ground. It is Picketed with Block houses; an Officer and 31 men there. Georges Island spoiled almost by cutting it down.

15th. I went in a boat to Fort Sackville, walked over the whole Ground which is picketed only round the Fort, 9 miles from Halifax, near the water. Guard of an Officer & 31 men.

16th. I walked to the 2 Block Houses on the Isthmus which is a mile & a Quarter over.

17th. I went over Cornwallis Island in the Afternoon. Admiral Durell appeared with his Fleet, came in & anchored opposite North West Harbour.

18th. I went on board Admiral Durell and showed him my Instructions; the wind blew contrary. He could not get up with his Ships. I heard the Porcupine was off at Sea on Wednesday near to the Eastward, my brother on board.

19th. My Brother arrived, he had been ten days off the Port. Could not find the way in, sometimes being to the Westward & sometimes to the Eastward, and they were now passing the Harbour & going towards Louisburg, but they met a Lunenburg boat & took a Man out who piloted them in. He brought me the Letters of which I received the Duplicates on the 19th.

20th. Having settled everything I had to do at Halifax I went on board the Massachusetts sloop in the evening for New York.



## IV

November 21, 1758 to July 13, 1759

This Section describes Amherst's voyage to Boston and overland journey to New York, visit to Philadelphia and other places, with details regarding his military duties, disposition of troops, etc., in preparation for the Ticonderoga campaign; advance to Fort Edward, and Lake George, building of Fort George.

### *November:*

21st. We sailed last night before twelve o'clock, the wind fair, got out to sea and came up with some Cape Anne Schooners that sailed at 8 last night. We passed Cape LaHeve, one of the best landmarks on the coast by being clear of wood at the Point and looks as if it had been done on purpose. This Ashmatogan Mountain and Lunenburg Town and wind-mill the best landmarks, the wind-mill the only one on the coast.

22nd. It blew last night and continued all day, we were off Cape Sable and in the Bay of Fundy. Expected to reach Cape Anne the next morning but in the night the wind changed and we were forced to land more into the bay.

23rd. We saw land about nine o'clock, stood in for it and were obliged to go into the bay as far as Penobscot Hills. It blew very hard; we came to anchor under Mountain Betty in an open place about two in the afternoon.

24th. The wind contrary, we tried to get out but could not; we went farther into the Bay to get a better Harbour.

## 102 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

25th. We weighed anchor and got out but could make but little way. We were obliged to anchor again a little farther back than where we anchored the first night we came into the bay. The Captain went on shore to look for a bag of money he hid when he was taken by the Indians; found it and brought it on board, thirty dollars.

26th. The wind still remained contrary and we were obliged to remain at anchor; we kept watch every night regularly. It froze hard this night and blew hard.

27th. We sailed at daybreak and it soon blew a storm and the wind came so much ahead we were glad to get back and anchor under shelter of an Island, where as the tide went out we saw we had narrowly escaped running on a ledge of rocks. It froze so hard that the salt water was Ice as soon as it came on Deck.

28th. We sailed at eight in the morning, the storm being abated and the wind pretty fair. In the afternoon it was calm and the Captain and Pilot thought it would blow hard at night, so we took to our Oars and tryed to get into Georges, or Pemaquid. It was dark before we could get in and, a little breeze springing up, we got into Pemaquid and anchored.

29th. Very bad weather and wind contrary and foggy. We could not get out; lay at anchor under the Fort where there was a Lieut. and 15 men. The Lieut. came and dined with me.

30th. The wind continued contrary, were obliged to stay in Pemaquid Harbour, I went to the Fort built with stone, two Bastions at opposite angles, one circular to the River, the other square. 14 of the inhabitants paid as a Guard, everything in very bad order. In the night the wind came a little fair and we sailed.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 103

### *December:*

1st. We got out to sea but the wind was so much ahead we were obliged to put into Townshend Harbour, a very fine Harbour; would hold the fleet of England.

2nd. We sailed at two in the morning with a fair wind, passed Casco bay nine in the morning and Piscataqua at one in the afternoon, sailed between the Continent and the Isles of Shoals, passed Cape Anne in the evening and arrived at Boston and anchored between eleven and twelve.

3rd. Being Sunday, I sent to the Governour and went on shore ordering the sloops not to fire; dined at the Governours.

4th. I sat out in the morning and got to Brewsters at Wrentham, 27 miles.

5th. Went to Providence 18 miles. Governour Hopkins came to me. The wind not being fair to go by water I resolved to go by land.

6th. Went in the morning to Greenwich 16 miles; there halted and then went to Esqr. Cases at Tower Hill, 15½ miles, through the best country by much of any I have seen.

7th. Went in the morning through Charles Town, 12 miles to Thompsons at Westerly, 11 more, where we halted, and then through Stonington to Groton, passed the Ferry of the Thames to New London 14 miles farther, in all 37, lay at Deshons at New London. The roads very rocky, and miles very long.

8th. My baggage not coming till eleven this morning I sat out late, went through Lime, crossed a small Ferry 7 miles from New London, and 11 miles farther crossed the Connecticut River to Seabrook, lay at Lords this night, 21 miles from New London.

## 104 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

9th. Went to Kellingsworth 12 miles, Guilford 10 miles, halted there and went to Brentford 10 miles, where I lay that night.

10th. I got an order from the Justice of the Peace for a waggon to travel, it being Sunday, crossed the Ferry at New Haven about a quarter of a mile over and 9 miles from Branford; from there went to Milford 10 miles where two Companys of Webbs Regt. were quartered and to Fairfield 8 miles where two Companys were. Lay at Colonel Burtons Quarters.

11th. Colonel Burton went with me to Norwalk 12 miles, where Mr. Fitch,<sup>78</sup> Governour of Connecticut lives, who had made disputes about furnishing wood to the Guards and Hospitals and I never heard any petty fogging Attorney more equivocating or half so silly on any subject as he was on this, but I persuaded him at last to order the delivery of the wood, went to Stamford, 10 miles, where two more Companys were quartered and from thence through Horseneck and Rye to Marineck, 16 miles, where I lay at the Widow Budds.

12th. Went through New Rochel, East Chester to Kingsbridge, 14 miles, where we crossed the Harlem River which joynes to the Hudson and makes the Island on which New York is. A bridge is building over by the Proprietors of the land near the place. From New London to this place the country all well inhabited, in some places very rocky and stony but the ground in general good, finely watered, the road leading not far from the seaside. Over the Sound we saw Long Island in several different Prospects, and the Towns we passed well built and populous. New Haven has a College built with brick and another building of wood that makes a fine appearance. In the

<sup>78</sup> THOMAS FITCH: Born in Connecticut, 1699. Lawyer; Chief Justice, 1750-1754; then Lieut.-Governor and Governor.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 105

afternoon went from Kingsbridge to New York, stopped at Governour Delanceys house where M. General Abercromby was come out to meet me, and there found a letter from Brigr. Forbes with the news that the enemy had on the 24th of November blown up Fort Duquesne and that he had taken possession of it the same evening . . .

1759

### *January:*

2d. The Nightingale, Capt. Campbell, arrived, had set out from Halifax the day before I did, put into Boston and sailed from thence the day I arrived there.

11th. The Crown Store Ship, Mr. Mead Master and Commander arrived here, left Corke the 9th of November.

19th. General Abercromby went on board the Kennington at night, I ordered all compliments as to a Commander in Chief.

20th. I went on board the Kennington.

24th. The Kennington sailed from the watering place, took two Transports with Invalids under convoy. Major Halkett arrived the night before from Br.-G. Forbes, tryed to get on board the Kennington the 24th but could not overtake her . . .

### *April:*

1st. The Leicester Packet boat sailed.

7th. I sat out with the Lt. Governour for Philadelphia and on arriving near Elizabeth Town we saw a large ship which we took to be a Man of War and proved to be the Diana. I got my dispatches at night at Brunswick where I lay.

8th. I went to Bristol, 'twas too late to get on to Philadelphia. Saw five Companys of Lord Blakeney's at Trentown.

## 106 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

9th. I sat out early in the morning, arrived at Philadelphia and saw Late Forbes' Regt. which was out to exercise . . .

11th. I sat out in the morning, crossed the Delaware below Burlington at which place I saw five Companys of Lord Blakeney's under the command of Col. Haviland in perfect good order.

12th. I went to Amboy where I saw Lascelles Regt., dined at Governour Bernards<sup>79</sup> and embarked on board Mr. Kilbys Sloop for New York in the evening, arrived at New York the next day being the 13th at four in the morning. This day the Lizard Man of War, Capt. Drage arrived and five English Transports came in, all wanting repairs.

14th. The Trent Man of War, Capt. Lindsay arrived, nine companys of Frasers Regt. arrived from Albany before and were quartered in Long Island . . .

23rd. I went to Jamaica and reviewed Col. Frasers nine Companys, the same day the four Companys under the command of Major Clephane arrived from Fort Stanwix. I ordered them to embark on board the Transports without delay.

28th. Frasers being all embarked and ready to sail, Lascelles being likewise ready to embark at Amboy and the Transports expected every moment from Philadelphia I gave all the necessary orders to Capt. Schomberg and left Br.-Gen. Prideaux to send up the two Regts. of Highlanders as soon as Col. Montgomerys<sup>80</sup> arrived at Elizabeth Town. I dined at the Lt. Governours and in the evening went on board Mr. Kilbys Sloop at Greenwich.

79 SIR FRANCIS BERNARD: Born in England, 1714. Governor of New Jersey, 1758. Succeeded Pownall as Governor of Massachusetts, 1760.

80 Colonel Archibald Montgomery commanded the 77th Highlanders. They served under Forbes at Fort Duquesne, and, later, were with Amherst in his campaigns of 1759 and 1760.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 107

29th. The wind was so contrary all night we could not sail and continuing so, the Lt. Governour came and dined at Greenwich. In the evening it changed. I went on board and sailed.

30th. Got into the Highlands.

*May:*

1st. The wind was contrary, we made but little way, went on shore for an hour; in the afternoon the wind was fairer.

2nd. We anchored near Kinderhook, no wind, and tide against us; went on shore. About two the tide changed and we sailed, ran aground, but got off again.

3rd. I arrived at Albany about ten in the morning. The same day a Sloop with 67 Rhode Island Provincials arrived, the first of the Provincials that are come.

4th. I sat out to Schenectady to meet Sir William Johnson to whom I sent last night to meet me there, and returned at night.

5th. Br. Gen. Gages<sup>81</sup> Light Infantry arrived, encamped above Albany.

6th. The greater part of late Forbes's arrived and some more Sloops of the Rhode Islanders. Col. Johnson likewise arrived.

7th. Br. Gages Light Infantry marched for Saratoga. I sent Capt. Darcy to Br. Stanwix to acquaint him of the opera-

81 THOMAS GAGE: Born in England, 1721. Entered army, 1741; Lieut. Colonel of 44th Regt., 1751. Fought with Braddock, 1755; with Abercromby, 1758. Succeeded Sir William Johnson at Niagara, 1759; accompanied Amherst to Montreal, 1760. In 1761 made Major-General. Succeeded Amherst as Commander-in-Chief in 1763. Fought in Revolutionary War until 1775, when he resigned and went to England. Made a General, 1782. Died in England, 1787.

## 108 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

tions I intended and to direct him to push forward some troops to take possession of Venango, Le Bouf and Presquille.<sup>82</sup> I sent Capt. Abercromby to Fort Edward to examine how things went on. Sir William Johnson wrote to me for money, arms &c for the Indians.

8th. Last night four of the Rhode Island people who were just landed deserted. I was obliged to approve the sentence of a General Court Martial for the execution of a man of Abercrombys and one of Gages to stop desertion.

9th. I ordered Major Gordon and Major Beckwith to muster and review the Rhode Islanders and New York provincials, as many as were arrived. I ordered all the provisions that could be forwarded to Fort Stanwix. Capt. Abercromby arrived in the afternoon from Fort Edward. I had an account from Fort Stanwix of a scouting party of Lt. Stubens and sixteen men who were discovered by the enemys Indians as they had been shooting Pidgeons and were surprised; Tiebout, a Volunteer and four men killed, one man taken prisoner and Sergt. Kenedy wounded, all Rangers. Capt. Abercromby acquainted me, he heard the alarm guns fire at Fort Edward and Fort Miller;<sup>76</sup> imagined some of the enemys Indians had appeared.

10th. I heard some Indians had appeared opposite Fort Miller, which gave the alarm and they took away a Ranger who had crossed contrary to orders, I sent letters to the Governours to desire them to hasten the march of the Troops as much as possible.

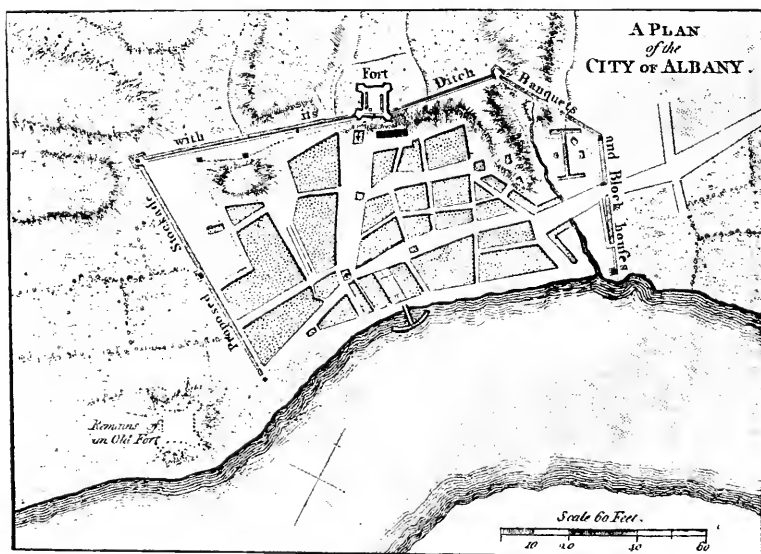
11th. Part of the Royal Highland Regt. arrived and encamped above the Town. I sent to Montgomerys to catoon

82 PRESQUILLE: On the south shore of Lake Erie, where the modern town of Erie, Pennsylvania, now stands. Here the French built the first of a chain of forts which extended south toward Louisiana.



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, BART.

*From a line engraving in  
Dr. J. C. Webster's collection.*





## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 109

seven miles below the Town. I intended to move forward the Royal and Blakeney's today but Col. Bradstreet assured me it would do best to take batteaus and whale boats and move all at once.

12th. One company more of the Royal Highland Regt. came in. I ordered four Companies to Scortico<sup>83</sup> as a guard to some oxen I sent to grass. Col. Montresor<sup>84</sup> came. Some of the New York arrived and about 400 of the Rhode Island Provincials are come, but not a man yet of the Massachusetts, New Hampshire or Jerseys come.

13th. No more troops come. I received a letter from the Governor of New Hampshire that they had altered their mind and would send their men by land, that he was not ignorant I must think it very odd after their desiring I should order them to go by water which I had done, but that when I was as well acquainted with them as he is, nothing of this sort would surprise me . . .

15th. Br. Genl. Prideaux arrived from New York. I ordered all the stores, artillery, &c designed for the expedition to Niagara to Schenectady where they will be put in Batteaus.

16th. Sir William Johnson came to me in the morning, promised great things for the Indians. I kept my intended operations secret. If the Indians know them the French will have it; though ever so much an Indian Friend, it is their business to give intelligence on both sides. I sent Capt.

<sup>83</sup> Scotcook or Scotock on the Hudson river below Albany.

<sup>84</sup> JAMES MONTRESOR: Lieutenant-Colonel and Chief Engineer with Abercromby in the attack on Ticonderoga, 1758. He made the plan of Fort Stanwix. Chief Engineer under Amherst, and built the Fort at the head of Lake George, in 1759. His son John was also in the service.

## 110 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Prescott<sup>85</sup> to put all the Troops on the Mohock River in motion and to march the Garrisons into the Forts that I intend should stay there the Campaign.

17th. It began to rain which will facilitate greatly the transporting all matters up the Hudson as well as Mohawk Rivers. Lt. Col. Payson of the Connecticut Troops arrived. I ordered a Camp to be marked against the Troops came.

18th. I got an Express from Boston with letters from Col. Burton the 13<sup>th</sup> that all was near sailing. Col. Babcock of the Rhode Island Regt. arrived, his regiment not half come up, consisted of 700 instead of 1000; said 'twas the fault of their Government. Most of the New York troops arrived last night; in the whole 2160. I completed them with Tents, Arms and ammunition that they might march immediately. I ordered last night Capt. Abercromby to Schenectady to encamp the 4th R.R.A's there, and ordered the Quarter Master and Camp colour Men of Abercrombys to Schenectady with Lt. Col. Robertson to mark the ground. A great deal of rain today. Ordered 100 whale boats to the Half Moon to be carried across to the Mohawk River by the New Yorkers for Schenectady . . .

19th. The Detachment of Artillery commanded by Col. Strachey marched with the two 18 pounders. Abercrombys marched this morning.

20th. Br. Genl. Prideaux sat out this morning for Schenectady. I had ground marked on the Hill for the Connecticut Troops against they come, and most of the Rhode Islanders being arrived I ordered them to encamp. 200 of the

85 ROBERT PRESCOTT: Born in 1725. Fought at Louisbourg. Aide-de-camp to Amherst, 1759; at Quebec with Wolfe. Major of 95th Foot under Monckton at Martinique. Fought in Revolutionary War. In 1796, he succeeded Lord Dorchester as Governor of Quebec until 1799. Died in England, 1816.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 111

Royal Highlanders and 100 of Late Forbes' took some batteaus with provisions up the River. An Express in the afternoon from Boston. Letter from Br. Wolfe at Halifax the first of May; he arrived there the day before. In the afternoon I heard from Schenectady that the River had risen so on a sudden that most of the batteaus were carried away down the Mohawk River. Dispatched immediately to Nestaguina and Louduns Ferry to stop them.

21st. I wrote to Br. Wolfe. Sent Capt. Abercromby to Boston. Capt. Darcy arrived from Philadelphia. 5 Companys of the Massachusetts were to arrive this night opposite to Albany.

22nd. The River was now very practicable for the Batteaus to go up. I ordered late Forbes and the Inniskilling Regts. to march tomorrow. Capt. Prescott returned from Fort Stanwix. No suspicion anywhere of what we were going about. By trusting no one with the intent against Niagara the Indians can't inform the French which they would otherwise do to get rewarded for it.

23rd. Late Forbes' and Inniskilling Regts. marched up the River with two Companys of the Royal Highland Regiment, the two Regts. to encamp opposite to Fort Miller and Highlanders at Stillwater. I sent Ensigns Ratur and Rives to Fort Herkimer<sup>86</sup> to survey the ground between that Post and Fort Stanwix that I may make a road on the first occasion.

24th. I ordered Gages Light Infantry to Fort Edward to reinforce the Troops there that they may erect the Posts as I have ordered Lt. Col. Eyre to do, and that there may be men

<sup>86</sup> FORT HERKIMER: A post on the Mohawk river, near German Flats. Commanded by Nicholas Herkimer, son of the original settler, when attacked by French and Indians, in 1758; he was Lieutenant of militia.

## 112 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

enough to send large detachments to the Lake. If the Provincials ever come I would go now directly to the Lake. I sent Lt. Brehme<sup>87</sup> with 50 Provincials to the Carrying place at Canojchoray<sup>88</sup> to erect a proper Post that 25 men may post themselves there with security to protect everything on the carrying place.

25th. Br. Prideaux came in the morning. I had a report from Stillwater of there having been a little attack, and some hours after I received a letter from Lt. Col. Darby to acquaint me that Lt. Watts with a party of twelve men of Late Br. Forbes Regt. were attacked by a party of thirty Indians a mile and a half on the east side of the River on his return in the evening yesterday from Stillwater to the Camp of Scorticoke; Lt. Watts and two men killed, three privates wounded and a Corporal missing. Today Mr. Mortier arrived with some money, it is time, there was none left. Two Sloops with the first of the New Jersey Troops arrived this night.

26th. A letter from Major Hamilton with an account of Lt. Watts affair who had asked to go to Stillwater on business; the party I fear was marching carelessly.

27th. I heard by papers from New York that Guadaloupe was entirely taken. I tried to get the second Jacobs Company of Indians out of Town but Rum stopped them. Some more of the Connecticut and New Jerseys arrived, but none brought their attestations though this had been entirely settled between me and the Governors that we might have no confusion. The Provincial Troops deserted most shamefully.

87 LIEUTENANT D. BREHM: Diedrich Brehm, a German, was made a Lieutenant in the 60th, or Royal American, Regiment Feb. 21, 1756. He accompanied Major Rogers to Detroit; became a Captain in the 60th, Nov. 16, 1774, and a Major in the army, March 19, 1783.

88 CANAJOHARIE: On the Mohawk river, about 55 miles west of Albany.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 113

28th. Col. Grant brought me the proceedings of a General Court Martial wherein two Provincials of the Rhode Island forces were condemned to suffer death; this I hope will stop desertion.

29th. I had ordered the troops to be out at six in the morning for the execution of one of the Rhode Island men; the other I pardoned. This day I sent a detachment from the Provincials to serve as batteau men on the Mohawk River. Colonel Schuyler<sup>89</sup> arrived this afternoon. On an application from Br. Prideaux for more Batteaus, I ordered 30 more to be sent.

30th. I had an express from Boston with a letter from Col. Abercromby that he had succeeded in his errand and got 300 of the Provincials for Pioneers which he expected to put on board on the 27th and Capt. Stot had luckily put in there with Transports that were destined for Louisburg, so that I doubt not these will arrive time enough for Mr. Wolfe. The same express brought me some letters from England from Mr. Pitt, 15th March. The return of Provincials this day 2550 present. 2025 not come up belonging to the Regts. of the 2550 which are in Camp. Col. Worcester's Regt. Newhampshire Troops 1000, and 1000 Connecticut are yet to come up. The New York are marched with Br. Genl. Prideaux. The Engineers came back

89 PETER SCHUYLER: Born, 1710. In 1746, made Colonel of a New Jersey regiment and was stationed at Oswego until the peace of 1748. On the renewal of hostilities, in 1755, he was again sent to Oswego until its capture by Montcalm, in 1756, when he was sent prisoner to Quebec. It was not until 1758 that, by exchange, he was free to return home. In 1759-1760 he commanded the Jersey regiment under Amherst and accompanied him to Montreal. He died in 1762. While a prisoner in Canada he kept open house for other prisoners and spent money freely in redeeming prisoners from the Indians. His New York house was No. 1 Broadway. In the Revolutionary War it was the residence of Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Guy Carleton.

## 114 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

that had been to survey the road to Fort Stanwix. Br. Prideaux came to me; he goes tomorrow from Schenectady to the little falls to set every ——?—— forward and see all gone. I sent Sir William Johnson a warrant for 3000£; I have given him everything he has asked me.

31st. Capt. Prescott returned from Sir William Johnson. I ordered the Royal Highland Regt. the Part that remains here and the Artillery and Massachusetts Troops to march tomorrow. Montgomerys to march opposite to Albany to proceed the next day. I sent an express to Br. Stanwix, wrote to Br. Whitmore and Br. Lawrence by the return of the express to Boston. Capt. Loring who came from Boston went yesterday to New York to prepare things for the intended vessels to be built on the Lakes. I ordered the Artillery up the Hudson River.

### *June:*

1st. Capt. Cruikshanks arrived with his company from No. 4. Two battalions of the Connecticut to take up Batteaus tomorrow and Montgomerys to march. On the desire of Col. Montgomery that the Regt. might have a day to put everything in order and Capt. Cruikshanks asking the same thing, I halted them.

2d. I purposed going this morning but found so many things to settle thought I should lose time instead of gaining by it, the Connecticut troops march this morning. Some of Col. Whitneys and some of Col. Worcesters arrived as likewise some of the Regts. that marched. Two companys of Montgomerys to Stillwater and on to Halfmoon.

3d. I sat out in the morning with Montgomerys Regt. which encamped at Halfmoon. Capt. Abercromby arrived from

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 115

Boston. The 300 Pioneers sailed from thence the 31st of May. News from East Indies, Fort St. Davids was taken; that not so well but some good with the bad, that a 60 Gun French Man of War was taken in the Channel and that two frigates convoying some Ships for Quebec were taken.

4th.           Montgomerys marched to Stillwater. I overtook the Connecticut troops going up in their Batteaus, very heavy wet work. At Stillwater the Royal Highlanders had loaded their Batteaus and were setting off. I sent Capt. Prescott to Fort Edward to prepare a Camp for the whole.

5th.           I went from Stillwater to Saratoga to Rutherfords camp where Lt. Know had posted himself very well; the Royal Highlanders had got up there and were sending their provisions over the carrying places. Part of Montgomerys came up late at night to Saratoga.

6th.           I sat out from Saratoga to Rutherfords camp and McBeans camp where Capt. Gordon with a detachment of the Royal was encamped; from thence I went along the Dugway, the worst communication I ever saw, to Fort Miller; crossed the water there and went to Col. Havilands camp of the Iniskilling and part of Forbes Regt. Their Post a very strong one and Col. Haviland had made the most of it. All the Provisions and Batteaus are obliged to be taken out of the River here and carried over a neck of land to avoid the Rifts which are impassable. I returned to Fort Miller, took horse and arrived at Fort Edward at three in the afternoon, went quite round the environs to fix the Camp for the Troops. Lt. Col. Eyre has done everything very well. Sent ten waggons to help Col. Haviland at his post. A scouting party returned, said there were some Indians about ten miles to the Eastward. I ordered them to be waylaid and another scout to be sent out to Sacandaga

## 116 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

that if the enemy makes any motions we may be informed of it. Major West sent word from his Post some Indians were tracked steering towards that way; I ordered out a Party of the Rhode Islanders and Rangers to go before daybreak.

7th. A most terrible wet blowing day. The party returned, saw nothing. I received a letter from Br. Prideaux with one enclosed from Col. Massey of the 4th of June giving an account that they had heard a firing at the Fort, on which he sent out two parties; the fire was on the Batteau men who were with the two 18 Pounders. They killed seven and scalped six; one lay unscalped; one was wounded who will do well, and one missing, besides a soldier of Murrays taken near the Fort. A German of the Marine brought Prisoner by a Scout from Swelalchi.<sup>90</sup> The 18-Pounders safe. I suppose the batteau men were on shore and without Arms. The Royal Highland Regt. arrived this day half drowned; I sent them under cover to the great block house and sheds on the Island.

8th. I went in the morning to the Post which is erecting four miles from hence near the road to the Lake where Major West commands the Light Infantry of Gages and 300 Rhode Island Provincials. In the afternoon Major West desired to fire off all the Arms that could not be drawn, which alarmed the Massachusetts Troops. The Royal Highland Regt. encamped.

9th. I sent Major Moneypenny down the River to the different Posts to see how everything went on, and to stop the Troops to make them take two trips from each carrying place which will greatly shorten the time of bringing the provisions up. I went round the block houses and posts, ordered the Detachment of the Royal to encamp. Montgomerys Regt.

<sup>90</sup> Oswegatchie on the river St. Lawrence.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 117

arrived with their batteaus, the men greatly fatigued. Some scouts returned had seen nothing; the one I sent to Sacandaga returned hearing the firing at Major Wests camp. One scout going to the lake was discovered by a small party of the enemy and returned; sent another to the Lake that could see no appearance. These scouts often see people when there are none. I wish the Regts. were up. Tis time I should get forward. I ordered 70 of the Royal, 200 of the Royal Highlanders and all the men the Massachusetts could spare to go to Fort Miller with batteaus to fetch up provisions. I sent two engineers with a covering party to survey the ground and try to make a road to avoid the Dugway which is one of the most dangerous communications I ever saw.

10th. At daybreak 100 batteaus were taken down the River to Fort Miller to bring up provisions. The first batteaus returned by 2 o'clock. The Light Infantry of the R. H. fired three rounds to try their Arms. Sent Capt. Prescott to Col. Haviland. The batteaus brought 20 barrels each. Col. Schuyler and Regt. arrived with the whale boats in the afternoon; left three that were damaged behind. At night waggons arrived with the Rum and Molasses.

11th. I marked ground in the front of each Corps for the Picquets to advance on. I had letter from the Lt. Governour of New York that Admiral Saunders had wrote him word two Men of War were to come to New York with Troops from the West Indies. I wrote to the Lt. Governour to desire that any that came bound for the River St. Lawrence should be sent away directly, and if intended here, to be sent to Albany. Capt. Martin arrived with most of the remains of the Artillery Stores. I ordered the Roads towards the Lake to be repaired; 600 workmen for it. Ordered Lt. Martin and a scout to Crown Point. I

## 118 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

had a letter from Br. Prideaux acquainting me the Indians had scalped some people below Sir William Johnsons and he feared they had taken a messenger he had sent there with a copy of a letter from Lt. Col. Massey,<sup>91</sup> and when he had acquainted Lt. Col. Massey that he had asked the Howits<sup>92</sup> at Fort Stanwix for the reduction of Niagara, this will discover the scheme; but I think the French can't parry it. In camp this day here two Detachments of the Royal 170, all the Royal Highlanders, Montgomerys except three companies, two battalions of Massachusetts, one Rhode Island, one Jersey, Gages Light Infantry and part of the Rhode Island at advanced post; Prideaux' in the Fort.

12th. I sent out two scouts to Crown Point, went on the road toward the lake which the 600 men were working at. At night Genl. Lyman<sup>93</sup> arrived with his Battalion.

13th. A scout came in from Sacandaga said twelve Indians had passed downwards. I sent a party to waylay them. They may be of Sir William Johnsons, or, if of the enemys, they'll creep down upon some part of the Hudson River. I wrote to all the Posts to advertise them of it. Ordered Col. Grant<sup>94</sup> to march with the Royal Highland Regt., 500 Provin-

91 EYRE MASSEY: Born in Ireland, 1719. Entered army, 1739, and saw much service in the following years. In 1757 went to America as Major of 46th Foot; Lieut.-Col. 1758. Fought at Fort Niagara under Prideaux, 1759. Transferred to 27th Inniskillings, and commanded Grenadiers in Amherst's army which took Montreal, 1760. Made an Irish peer, Baron Clarinda, 1800. Died a full General, 1804.

92 Meant for "howitzers".

93 GENERAL LYMAN: Phineas Lyman was born at Durham, Conn. about 1716. Graduate and tutor of Yale; became a lawyer. In 1755 made a major-general and Commander-in-Chief of Connecticut forces. He built Fort Lyman, later Fort Edward. In 1758 he served under Abercromby; in 1759-1760, under Amherst, and was at capture of Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Montreal. In 1762 he commanded the provincial troops at capture of Havana. Died in Florida, 1775.

94 FRANCIS GRANT: Lieutenant-Colonel, 42nd Highlanders. Served in America 1756-1762. Colonel, 1762; Major-General, 1770; Lieut.-General, 1777. Died 1782.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 119

cials, one company of Gages, one of Rangers, one of Indians and two six pounders to erect a post at Half-way Brook; Lt. Col Eyre<sup>95</sup> to trace it out and order Lt. Brehme to execute it. Col. Fitch's Regt.<sup>96</sup> arrived this night with batteaus loaded. I had a letter from Br. Gage with the examination of two Prisoners taken at Crown Point the 29th of May who inform that the 11th the Regts. of La Reine, Languedock and two Battalions of Berry passed by for Ticonderoga, and 500 Canadiens under the command of Monsr. LaCorne,<sup>97</sup> 300 Indians had passed some time before. 150 Marines only at Crown Point but 300 expected to work at the Fort. Monsr. Levy<sup>98</sup> to command at Ticonderoga. Monsr. de Vaudreuil<sup>99</sup> at Montreal, but was to join Monsr. de Montcalm at Quebec where all the other Troops are to be assembled. 700 Canadiens went in autumn to N.E. side of River St. Lawrence between La Galette<sup>100</sup> and

95 WILLIAM EYRE: In 1756 appointed Major of 44th Foot, and built Fort William Henry, of which he was Commandant. In 1758 commissioned Engineer in Ordinary, and fought at Ticonderoga under Abercromby, being then made Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1759 he served under Amherst, and was made Chief Engineer of the army; he made the new fort at Ticonderoga. Accompanied Amherst to Montreal 1760. In 1764, on returning to Ireland, he was drowned.

96 FITCH'S REGIMENT: A Connecticut Regt. commanded by Lt.-Colonel Fitch, who commanded at Oswego, in 1760.

97 CHEVALIER PIERRE LA CORNE: Son of Captain La Corne, Town Major of Quebec. First service was, in 1720, under Joncaire. In 1746 went to Acadie with De Ramezay, and fought against Noble at Grand Pré; returned to Quebec. In 1749 sent to Beaubassin to help Le Loutre in preventing the Acadians from giving allegiance to Britain, and had orders to hold all territory west of the Isthmus of Chignecto; he was in command of a force of several hundred men. Later he returned to Quebec, where he was active for years. He fought in the 1759-1760 campaigns and was wounded at The Rapids. He distinguished himself at Quebec 1759.

98 CHEVALIER DE LEVIS, second in command to the Marquis de Montcalm.

99 MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL-CAVAGNAL: Governor-General of Canada.

100 LA GALETTE: An Indian settlement on the north bank of the St. Lawrence a little below the modern town of Prescott. Founded by the French for Indians of the Five Nations, whom they had persuaded to move to Canada under their protection. (Fort La Galette was a post on the south bank, later, Fort La Présentation, now the site of Ogdensburg.)

## 120 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Cadaraqui<sup>101</sup> to intrench there, but knows no more of them or of any Force intended for the Niagara or the Ohio. Three small vessels built at St. Johns<sup>102</sup> have passed Crown Point with Provisions; he does not know if they have any quantity up. Monsr. Bougainville,<sup>103</sup> Aide de Camp to Monsr. Montcalm, returned to Quebec the 11th May in a Frigate who had taken an English vessel with Salt, wine and liquors after an engagement of seven hours. Also arrived at Quebec 19 Vessels with Provisions but no Troops on board; 15 more sailed with the above but were taken. The Red Ribbon for Monsr. Montcalm, the Grand Croix for Monsr. de Vaudreuil with several crosses and promotions. A Fleet expected from France. Hard at work at Quebec and Ticonderoga; the Garrison of the latter very much afflicted with the Scurvy. A pound and a half of bread and Quarter of Pork issued daily to the Troops; the remainder in money, 3 Sous for half a pound of bread and three Sous for a quarter of Pork.

14th. I ordered out the Light Infantry, Grenadiers and Rangers to make a general search round the Camp to try if

101 FORT FRONTENAC: Known by the Indians as Cataracoui (Cadaraqui). On a bay at the junction of lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence (Site of modern Kingston). Count Frontenac first built a fort there, in 1672, meant to hold the Iroquois in check. In 1758, when captured by Bradstreet, it was a square of masonry, the walls being fifteen inches thick. It was held, in 1758, by Payan de Noyau, King's Lieutenant, of Three Rivers. Being 68 years old, a philosopher, poet and amateur physician, and having only a very small force, he made but a short stand against Bradstreet's force of 3000 men.

102 On the Richelieu river.

103 LOUIS-ANTOINE, COMTE DE BOUGAINVILLE: Born in Paris, 1729. Educated as notary. Early he displayed great talent as a mathematician, and wrote a treatise on the Integral Calculus, which won him the Fellowship of the Royal Society of London. Joined army, 1755; in 1756 came to Canada as Montcalm's aide-de-camp. Fought against the British until the fall of Canada. On returning to France joined the navy. In 1766-1769 he made a voyage around the world. Served in the West Indies during the Revolutionary War, and commanded the van of the French fleet in the action off Chesapeake Bay. Retired from service, 1790. Raised to Senate and the nobility by Napoleon.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 121

there were any lurking Indians but found none. Some of the men lost themselves, notwithstanding the greatest care was taken in the orders that were given that none might get astray. Col. Bradstreet<sup>104</sup> arrived. I sent Prescott to move all the Troops up.

15th. All the waggons loaded with artillery stores sent to Half-way Brook with a number of batteaus on waggons and whaleboats on mens shoulders, 15 to a boat. There were 8 men missing this morning at Reveillé of those who were out on the scout. I sent out drums to right, left and center to beat; one man came in who got to Fort Miller thinking he was up the River. I fired a gun from the Fort, ordered two more to be fired in the afternoon which the seven heard and came in. It rained very hard in the afternoon; all the men in camp at work. I ordered Prideaux' to march this afternoon to reinforce Col. Grant but it rained so excessive hard that I put their march off. The Grenadiers and Light Infantry changed their camp to the top of the Hill leading from the Fort to the Lake. A Detachment of the Royal from McBeans camp came in an Escort to several waggons. Near 200 of the Massachusetts who had been left behind on the march from New England came up. A general Court Martial to try a man of Fitch's. At night Gages Light Infantry except what remained with Col. Grant came into Camp.

16th. Col. Whitney's Regt. came up with batteaus and Provisions. Sent all the waggons with stores and provisions to

104 JOHN BRADSTREET: Born, 1711. Lieut.-Col. of Maine Regt. at Louisbourg, 1745; Lieut.-Governor, Newfoundland, 1746; Capt. in 60th Regt. 1740; in same year Lieut.-Col. and Dep. Q. M. General. Fought, in 1758, at Ticonderoga under Abercromby; later in year captured Fort Frontenac. Was with Amherst at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, 1759. Colonel in 1762. In 1764 sent against Western Indians, and made peace at Detroit. Major-General 1772. Died in New York, 1774.

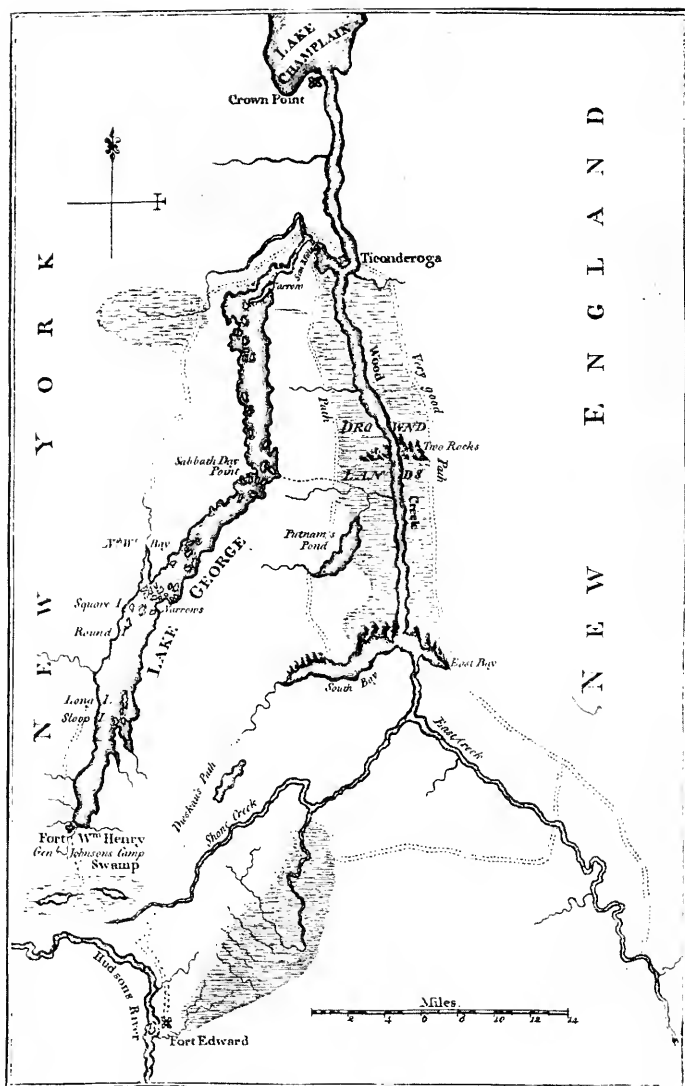
## 122 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Half-way Brook. As it was a fine day I ordered all the Light Artillery to march there at 2 o'clock escorted by 200 Grenadiers and 100 Light Infantry. The Light Infantry of the Royal and Grenadiers marched into Camp; brought some batteaus with them. All the Detachments of the Royal marched into Camp likewise except the Garrison at Fort Miller.

17th. It rained hard almost all the day. I expected a flag of truce would be sent from the Enemy as a means of seeing what we were about, and I wrote to Col. Grant what he should do in case one came, but the French were this time too quick for me for one arrived at his Post just before he got my letter. Col. Grant wrote me word he had sent him on through the wood. I had a place prepared for him, a Major of Militia, one Drum and four men brought me a letter from Monsr. de Montcalm and one from Mr. Burlamaque, all about the exchange of Prisoners. He arrived in the evening. I answered his letters directly that he might return the next morning. Capt. Prescott returned; saw all going well on the River. I intended a Battalion of the Massachusetts should have joined Col. Grant today but the weather was so bad I stopped them. The roads broke our carriages very much. Posts kept out all day for the safety of the communication. Provisions, batteaus and whale-boats on carriages forwarded as fast as I could.

18th. Col. Worcesters<sup>105</sup> Regt. arrived, and this morning the 1st Battalion of Massachusetts marched to Half-way Brook. Br. Genl Gage, Col. Montresor arrived, most of the Detachment of the Royal from Fort Miller and part of the 17th Regt. The

105 DAVID WOOSTER: Born, 1710. In 1748, commanded sloop-of-war in expedition to Louisbourg. Afterward, Capt. in Pepperrill's Regt. In 1755, Col. in 3rd Conn. Regt.; Brig.-Gen., 1758-1760. Fought in Revolutionary War and succeeded Montgomery as commander when the latter was killed at Quebec. Fatally wounded fighting, in 1777.



COUNTRY BETWEEN FORT EDWARD AND CROWN POINT (Mante) ] ]



## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 123

roads so very bad broke half the carriages. Col. Bradstreet desired a days rest tomorrow. The Flag of Truce set off at day-break :

19th. I sent all the men I could spare out of camp to repair the roads. A packet of letters from England, duplicates of what I had received from Albany. I immediately wrote away to dispatch the packet that we may not be writing here when we have other things to do. I sent my letters away by Capt. Stuart at 6 in the evening giving Mr. Pitt an account of all I had done. I went in the evening to see the roads ; wanted a great deal more mending. Col. Bradstreet thought 'twould be better not to cart on the roads tomorrow. This morning at day-break the Royal, Jersey Regt. a Battn. of Connecticut marched under the command of Col. Foster. Prideaux to join the above Corps leaving the Connecticut to take Post between Half-way Brook and Lake. A letter from Br. Prideaux, all going well.

20th. I ordered the Army to march at daybreak tomorrow that I may take Post at the Lake as soon as possible. I am obliged to leave Montgomerys, the New Hampshire Regt. and Willards<sup>106</sup> to wait for their men coming up and Col. Montgomery to forward everything. I shall see at the Posts what I can take on ; the one at Half-way Brook is finished.

21st. The General beat a quarter before daybreak, assembly half an hour after, and I marched as soon as I could get the Troops off their ground in two columns. The Regulars forming the Column on the Right marched by their Left. The

106 WILLARD'S REGIMENT: Abijah Willard was born at Lancaster, Mass., in 1722. Fought at Louisbourg, 1745, and was made Captain. He was with Monckton's army at Beauséjour, in 1755. Commanded a Mass. Regt., in 1759, under Amherst. In 1760, he was with Haviland in the advance to Montreal. At Boston as a Loyalist with Gage, and retired to Halifax. Afterwards commissary with British army in New York. Settled in New Brunswick, and gave the name Lancaster to his settlement near St. John. There he died in 1789.

## 124 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Provincials forming the Column on the Left marched by their Right. The Rangers commanded by Major Rogers<sup>107</sup> and Gages Light Infantry by Major Gladwin were the advanced guard. The Light Infantry of the Regiments formed the rear guard. The day was excessive hot and some part of the road bad and I was stopped by the batteaus not being out of the way, as Col. Bradstreet had promised me they should be. On the march I had a letter from Col. Forster that the Captain of the Rangers had just reported to him a large body of the enemy on this side the Lake and within three miles of his camp, he saw forty or fifty which he took to be the advanced guard but could not tell what numbers in their rear. This report was very unlikely to be true, as I marched from the camp I was ready to receive the enemy so it made no change in my march. At Col. Forsters Post I was informed the report had been made on a party from his camp having been out after a deserter. I halted there an hour and a half and took two six-pounders on at the Heads of the Columns. It was so excessive hot that at Half-way Brook I took off the cloaks of 60 Highlanders for a flanking party so they could and then did do their duty. As soon as I took possession of the high grounds that command the ground to the Lake I halted the Columns and went forward with Quartermasters and Camp colour men and marked the Camp. The rear guard did not march in till after nine at night. The Royal Highland Regt., part of Gages Light Infantry joined me at Half-way Brook. As that Post was just finished

107 ROBERT ROGERS: Born in New Hampshire, 1721. In 1755, he commanded a company in Sir William Johnson's expedition to Lake George. In 1756, he was given command of a company of Rangers, continuing in this capacity during the wars. Abercromby made him a Major, in 1758. He fought against Pontiac and was given command of Fort Michilimackinac in 1766. He fought with the British during the Revolutionary War, and afterwards went to England, where he died about 1800. He published his *Journals of the Wars in America*, in London, 1765.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 125

I left one Battn. of Massachusetts, one of Connecticut and the Detachment of 500 Provincials for the guard to the Stores sent there, and to give Escorts, which, with a company of Rangers to scout out, will be full sufficient; these remained under the command of Lt. Col. Payson, at the Post three miles from the Lake which was not yet stockaded. I left the Royal, Prideaux' and New Jersey Regt. as I did not want more force to take Post at the Lake. I though I could not secure the communication too well to put it entirely out of the power of the Enemy to cut off any of our stores, or anything coming to camp. I marched into camp everything included, 6,236.

22d. I went with Col Montresor and fixed on the ground for building a fort,<sup>108</sup> desiring it might be made taking all the advantages of ground without regard to regularity; ordered two bridges to be repaired, the wharfs the enemy had broke up likewise to be repaired, dug for everything that had been buried when the army went away last year, which, tho the Enemy had been looking after, they had found nothing of consequence; fixed a Captains Post to the left of the rear of the Camp, and a Subalterns' to the right where had been one of the bastions of Fort William Henry. Sent out scouts to both sides the Lake.<sup>109</sup> A report from 4 miles Fort that a small party

108 FORT GEORGE: The name given to Fort William Henry at the south end of Lake George, rebuilt by James Montrésor by order of Amherst, in 1759. (There was also a fort of this name in New York City). Lake George was called by the French St. Sacrement. This was changed by Sir William Johnson, in 1755.

109 LAKE GEORGE: Situated south of Lake Champlain, about 33 miles long and 4 miles wide at the widest part. It is 225 feet above the level of Lake Champlain, into which its outlet flows after circling for about two miles, in the course of which it descends forming the falls of Ticonderoga. Known to the Indians as Horicon, it was termed St. Sacrement by the French, having been thus designated by Father Jogues in 1646. Sir William Johnson named it Lake George, in 1755, in honor of the King.

## 126 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

of Indians had been reconnoitring there; the commanding officer sent parties after them but could not overtake them. I had likewise a report from the officer commanding at Half-moon that a countryman who had been hunting was killed by some Indians on the east side of the Hudson River.

23rd. Waggon's came from Fort Edward and those that had come up here were sent back to Half-way brook. I wrote to Col. Bradstreet to bring first everything from Half-way brook as one can't be too secure and 'tis best not to heap up everything together at Half-way brook. Mr. Trumbal of R. Highlanders and Paterson of Gages in a batteau a fishing had got too far out and were pursued by three boats, one of the three very wisely trying to get between them and the camp, and got ashore as soon as they did. So soon as they got ashore they run for it and Paterson came in about four in the afternoon and imagined the others would get in. I sent Capt Starks<sup>110</sup> out with a party to secure their retreat and try to catch the enemy. Got up today 100 batteaus and 47 whale boats.

24th. The party came in in the morning. Mr. Trumbal had joined them as he was coming to camp, for on finding himself cut off he thought 'twas best towards Ticonderoga, and he and four men he had with him got into a little Island where they intended to defend themselves. I made another road and bridge for the convenience of the waggon's going to the water side, the Provisions laid along near the water that it may easily be embarked. Men at work in levelling the ground for the Fort. Several people imagined they saw boats on the Lake. Partys out all day to secure the communication from Half-way

110 JOHN STARK: Born in New Hampshire, 1728. In 1755 Lieut. in Roger's Rangers; in 1757 Captain. In 1758 fought at Ticonderoga. In 1759 served under Amherst. Later, he was an important figure in the Revolutionary War.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 127

Brook. Letters from Lt. Coventry at Albany and Lt. Farquarson that there was a general attack on the Mohawk River on a party of Indians being come that way.

25th. Got spruce beer brewed for the men. I ordered Col. Schuylers Regt. from the Post four miles from hence to Camp. Capt. Loring<sup>111</sup> at work in getting up the Sloop; he thought positively that he saw boats on the Lake. I ordered Col. Haviland with three companys of Grenadiers, three of Light Infantry under Major Holmes and as many Rangers as could be got together to march in the night down the Lake and lay hid, and three whale boats to go out with people a fishing, to draw the enemy to Col. Havilands Post. A letter from Lt. Coventry that the enemy was retired from the Mohawk River; they were 20 Indians, and they murdered and scalped two men, two women and two children; that 80 men of the New York Provincials had arrived, that he had completed them with everything and ordered them to march and join their Corps, that the Captain and men had all mutinied and were in the greatest disorder but he got the better of them and forced them to march. 192 batteaus and 43 whale boats brought up.

26th. I kept partys out every day to secure the communication as we were bringing up waggons all day long. I ordered Col. Schuylers Regt. to Camp as Col. Forsters Post is finished, there is more than force enough there. I had letters today from

111 JOSHUA LORING: Born in Boston, 1716. Lieut. in Provincial Navy, 1745, and served at Louisbourg; then made a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy. In 1750 he went to Nova Scotia on half pay, and, in 1752, moved to Boston. In 1756 he went to England and was given command of a brig, being also given charge of the transport of troops to America. He remained in this service under Abercromby and Loudoun. Made Captain in 1757. In 1759 he commanded the naval forces on Lakes George and Champlain, and, in 1760, on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence in Amherst's campaigns. About 1767 he settled at Roxbury, Mass. He left Boston with the British troops, in 1776. In 1779 his estates were confiscated. He died at Highgate, London, in 1781.

## 128 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Br. Whitmore with the information of Capt. Stobo <sup>112</sup> and Lt. Stevens had made their escape from Quebec on the first of May and as they saw a fleet of fourteen ships seven days after they left Quebec, they certainly were the fleet that Monsr. Bouguainville arrived with on the 11th of May. If Mr. Durell had been out in time to stop these first ships all Canada would have been in the utmost distress. These gentlemen arrived at Louisburg and Br. Whitmore very wisely sent them after Mr. Wolfe to give him all the intelligence they could. Capt. Loring can't get his sloop up which was to have come up very easily . . .

27th. We had excessive hot weather for two days past; great rains at night with thunder and lightning. A man of Forbes' was this day shot through the arm by his firelock going off as he was stepping over some logs. Continued bringing provisions, batteaus, whaleboats and stores from Half-way brook. I had ordered out in the night two Companys, 2 of Light Infantry and some Rangers to scour the woods and cover some boats that I had ordered to fish for the Regiments, but the weather proved so very bad I countermanded them.

28th. I had a letter sent me by Lt. Coventry from Lt. Browne at Fort Herkimer that he had taken up an Indian and on

112 ROBERT STOBO: Born in Glasgow 1727. Emigrated to Virginia about 1742. In 1754, made Captain in a regiment raised by that province against the French. He was with Washington at Fort Necessity in that year, and was left as a hostage with the French pending the carrying out of the articles of capitulation. He was taken to Fort Duquesne, where he made a plan of the fort, which he was able to transmit to the British; his letters were found in the baggage captured at Braddock's defeat, and he was taken prisoner to Quebec. He tried to escape in 1756, but failed. He was tried for treason and sentenced to death but the sentence was not carried out. A second attempt failed, but a third was successful, in 1759, and he was able to join the British at Louisbourg. He went with the army to Quebec, in 1759, where his knowledge was useful. He went to England, in 1760, and was made Captain in the 15th Regt. of Foot. He returned to America and served in the West Indies in 1762. In 1767, he went to England; left the army in 1770, and is believed to have died in this year.



CAPTAIN JOSHUA LORING, R.N.  
 Naval Commander on Lakes George, Champlain and  
 Ontario in Amherst's campaigns.

*From a photograph of the original oil painting in the  
 offices of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London.*



ISRAEL PUTNAM

*From an engraving in Dr. J. C. Webster's collection.*



## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 129

hanging him up had made him confess he was sent as a spy from a party of 900 men who were at some distance and came to attack the Posts. Lt. Browne sent the intelligence immediately to all the Posts. Scouts kept going and coming from and to the Camp constantly; found nothing new. Several of the sick Provincials who were left behind in the measles, came up . . .

29th. Before daybreak two companies of Grenadiers, two of Light Infantry and 100 Rangers and Indians went out to cover the fishermen, and I sent a batteau Regt., but the weather was so bad they had no great success and saw nothing of the enemy. I had a letter from Col. Montgomery that his advanced sentries had seen some Indians in the night near Fort Edward. I fancy they were deceived. I asked Col. Bradstreet how soon he thought we should have everything up. He said seven days, which will do pretty well; but is much longer than I expected from all I had been told, and there is no knowing the truth but by seeing it for I was always told I could have everything from Fort Edward in a day, which will be well done if 'tis done in ten days. To make a little change in the Posts in case the enemy should attempt something I ordered Prideaux' to the 4 miles Post from Fort Edward and Whittings from hence to replace Prideaux' 4 miles from the Lake. If the enemy try at the communication it will be at the most distant part from the Army. Capt. Loring could not yet get his sloop up. A letter from Paquet master builder, who is to go to Oswego, that 25 of his men were gone; he had 20 with him ready to set out from Albany. I ordered him away directly and wrote to Br. Prideaux accordingly. He is to build two Snows there, one of 18 Guns is to be finished in a months time. Whittings and Worstesters fired three rounds of Ball; artillery exercised.

30th. Last night was a frost and two days ago as hot weather as ever I felt. Whittings marched at daybreak; Fitch's

## 130 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Regt. fired three rounds of ball; the artillery exercised. Two Prisoners made their escapes from Swegatche and steered for Fort Edward which is looked on as an impassable route, but they arrived in 27 days at the 4 miles Post; they left a third man who sat out with them but could not keep up. They crossed one lake three miles over, and a great many mountains, swamps and bad ground. They heard the evening gun of the camp the night before and the Drums the day they got over the River. Brought everything from Half-way brook and ordered this day all the waggons, carts, &c tomorrow to Fort Edward to bring what remains there to Half-way brook.

*July:*

1st. Pushed on the preparatives for building the Fort as much as possible and employed as many workmen as I could to forward it. Erecting a Post for 100 men, and one of 20, to leave for the security of things here when we pass the Lake.

2d. This days employ for the carriages was to bring the remains from Fort Edward to Half-way brook. About ten o'clock I heard several dropping shots; found immediately twas a party of Indians. I sent instantly to a Company of Light Infantry and Rangers, and they were out as soon as possible. I saw the shots on the right of the rear of the camp, and the officer commanding the Post on the right fired ten or a dozen shots before the Light Infantry or Rangers could get down. I added two more Companys of Light Infantry and three of Grenadiers to sustain, but before the first could get to the place where the firing was the Indians had made off. They creeped on a Sergt., Corporal and sixteen men of the Jersey Troops who were cutting brush. The Sergeant and five privates escaped and got into camp; six privates were killed, and one Corporal and five privates missing. The Rangers &c pursued but could

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 131

not overtake; saw the enemy go off in eleven birch canoes. I received a letter from Lt. Brown with the examination of the Indian taken at Fort Herkimer who owned that he was of the party that murdered the people some few days before, and was now sent on as a spy to see how things were. I laid the letter and examination before three Field officers with an order to them to report to me whether or not in their opinion he ought to suffer death and upon their condemning him I ordered the execution.

3d. Today Col. Montgomerys' Col. Willards' and the New Hampshire Regts. marched in at night from Fort Edward escorting the six 24-Pounders, the four 18-Pounders, all the Mortars, powder, ammunition &c. The last got into camp about nine at night. I intended everything should have come away entirely but there were 20 waggon loads left yet to come.

4th. Capt. Loring got the sloop a little above water and hawled her to the wharf so that I hope she will be soon ready; he thought to have her ready in a much shorter time. I ordered the remains of the Powder &c for the service of the Campaign directly from Fort Edward. Sent a Light Infantry Company to the right and one to the left of the Lake with a party of Rangers to each Company to scour the woods and remain out all day to try to cut off any scalping party. Capt. Jacobs with his Indians sat out with three whale boats in the night for Ticonderoga.

5th. I got the last of things from Fort Edward. 19 teams was to have brought all off but when it came to the trial it took 114. I resolved to continue working at the Fort when I cross the Lake so that I shall leave men sufficient that no time may be lost. Ordered 100 batteaus for the service of the Artillery. I shall be obliged to leave the heavy guns behind or I shall not get away these ten days. At night a sentry of

## 132 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Fitch's Regt. challenged, and a man fired at him; he returned the shot, thought it was an Indian.

6th. Two companies of Light Infantry out in the morning to the right and left of the Lake. The usual scouts came in, nothing new. I sent out 400 Axmen to clear each side of the road 30 yards to the right and left of it, leaving a few trees for the border of the road as a security to those that pass. Two companies of Grenadiers covered the work.

7th. Capt. Loring could not yet get the Sloop enough out of water to repair her; all the batteaus and whale boats mending as fast as possible. Major Ord building a Radeau without which I must leave the heavy Artillery behind me. Continued clearing the road to 3 miles Post. The work of the intended Fort going on very well, I gave every man to it that I could find of masons, brick layers, &c.

8th. I finished the road to 3 miles Post. Lt. Holmes of the Rangers came in from a scouting party; he had been at Crown Point and Ticonderoga but could not take any prisoners. By his accounts the French must be in full force and have not yet the news of M. Genl. Wolfe being in the River; they are encamped to defend the lines. As he returned he saw six canoes pursuing three whale boats, which must be Capt. Jacobs and his 30 men. He, Lt. Holmes, thought they'd get on shore before they could be overtaken; he saw them fire from the canoes. I tried an 18-Pounder in one of the boats that Capt. Loring thought could not possibly carry it, but it bore the fire very well. Ordered four 4-Pounders to be left in the two Posts erecting here for the security of everything when the Army is gone.

9th. Capt. Loring got his sloop quite safe, I sent to cut a mast; most of the batteaus mended. As soon as the whale boats are done I can move and I think it will be much better

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 133

and securer towards success to take the artillery with me than to leave it and be obliged to send for it, which must be the case if they defend the lines or Fort. The last they undoubtedly will do, and I shall gain time by hastening things on and taking the heavy artillery with me. About ten of Capt. Jacobs' people came in; they all deserved to have been taken for setting out in their boats in the daytime instead of the night. I had the Provincial Battalions to teach them how to form, and to enforce silence among the men and obedience to their officers, &c.

10th. I marched out at daybreak Forbes', the Iniskilling, Royal Highlanders and Montgomery's Regt.; went into the woods with two 3-Pounders and fired Platoons loaded with ball. At night some letters from Albany mentioned the Enemy had been at Oswego and that Mr. Towers, the engineer, was wounded. This came from the Post on the east end of Oneida Lake dated the 7th. It may possibly be the enemy has sent four or five hundred men to try what they can do. That is the most they can send and they can do no hurt as Colonel Haldimands Posts must be secured, as I suppose Br. Prideaux set out from thence for Niagara about the 2nd or 3rd. Mr. Towers may have been looking out for timber and this party have fallen on him . . . The work of the Fort going on well. Capt. Loring says the sloop shall be ready in two days, and Major Ord's Radeau<sup>113</sup> is to be finished in four days at farthest.

11th. I sent out two Partys one on each side the Lake, of Light Infantry and Rangers and some boats to fish to try to draw the enemy in. They picked up one man of Jacobs party who was returning to camp; staid out all day and saw nothing of the Enemy. I ordered all the Batteaus to be delivered to the

113 RADEAU: A raft made to carry artillery. They varied in size. A large one was 50 feet long, 19 wide and 6 deep; a similar one was 30 feet long, 7 wide, 3½ deep.

## 134 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Regiments to take care each of their own. They were not yet all repaired and nothing done to the whale boats, but they can take but little time. 70 Tons to be loaded of shot and shells in the sloop as soon as possible; I tried to get everything on as fast as I could.

12th. I sent out before daybreak 100 Rangers in whale boats, 60 of Gages Light Infantry in whale boats and three Companys of Grenadiers in Batteaus and an 18-Pounder in a boat,—all under the command of Major Campbell of the Grenadiers, to go down the Lake to try to keep unseen the Batteaus and the whale boats and to draw in the enemy, and Major Rogers afterwards to land on the west side to try to pick up any of Jacobs party. At eight o'clock I saw a shot from the 18-Pounder on which I ordered the Picquets of the Provincials, being 400 men, to the ground. Major Campbell was to try to draw the enemy to if they should happen to be superior, and two Companys of Grenadiers to sustain the Pickets about seven miles off on the West side of the Lake. Sent a party of Gages and Rangers to a mountain of the east side to give me constant intelligence of what passed. I soon saw by their manoeuvre they had exposed their gun and fired it much to soon. Major Campbell sent an officer to acquaint me a number of the enemy had fired on the first whale boat of Rogers, had killed a Sergt. and wounded an Indian, and that he had pursued; they ran away and he had fired eight rounds and thought he had destroyed one canoe. I ordered the Pickets and Grenadiers in when Major Campbell returned by that shore and sent to him accordingly. He came in at nine at night. 'Twas just as I suspected; they had fired their 18-Pounder too soon. If they had hid it by two Battoes, the enemy, from a confidence of their out going the whale boats and batteaus, would have come within grape shot; but on the first fire of round shot, which did not

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 135

reach them, they all dispersed. They made a great fire of wood on shore (I suppose as a signal to Ticonderoga), where they fired two guns.

13th. A deserter of the Iniskilling brought from Saratoga last night. I ordered a Court Martial at 6 this morning and as it was his second desertion, I thought myself obliged to approve the sentence and order the execution at twelve at the head of the Picquets. Seald the Guns of the Halifax Sloop. By the carelessness of the gunner he fired one that was loaded with shot and had laid buried all winter; it luckily went over the camp through a hut of the Light Infantry and did no hurt. I ordered five days flour to be baked and hurried everything on as fast as I could, loaded the sloop with powder as much as she could carry besides the shot, that in the whole she had above an hundred tons in her. I had a letter from Lt. Coventry, with one from Br. Genl. Prideaux enclosed, desiring the Indian might be released as the other Indians requested it. I wrote to Br. Prideaux and sent him the examination, sentence, and everything relating thereto and that he might assure the Indians I would serve every villain that deserved death as much as he did in the same way. I believe 'tis the best way of treating Indians.



## V

July 14, 1759, to September 23, 1759

This Section describes the embarkation and passage of Amherst's army on Lake George, establishing of lines for attack on Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga), abandonment of the latter by the French and occupation by the British, with details as to repairs etc.; advance to Fort St. Frederic (Crown Point), establishing of the main body of the army there and development of plans for a new fort, and for building vessels to gain naval control of Lake Champlain.

### *July:*

14th. The Battalions of Ruggles<sup>114</sup> & Lyman's with the detachment of 500 men & two companies of Rangers marched into Camp from half way brook that I may have them ready for embarking. I tried the Flat bottomed English boat with a three-Pounder mounted as a swivel she answered very well. I had a letter from Lt. Coventry from Albany acquainting me 150 of Montgomery's had arrived there last night and 120 of Fraser's. How they could blunder to let Fraser's come there I can't conceive as I had wrote to the Lt. Governor at New York in case any of them should arrive that he would send them away without any loss of time to Louisbourg. Capt Skeene<sup>115</sup>

114 RUGGLES' REGIMENT: Timothy Ruggles, born in Rochester, Mass. 1711. Memb. Mass. legislature, 1736. Col. of a Mass. Regt., 1755-1757. Organized battalion of loyal militia in Long Island. Moved to Nova Scotia, where he died at Wilmot, 1795.

115 PHILLIP SKEENE: Born in Scotland. Entered army 1739 and fought in the Portobello expedition; in 1741 at Carthage; in 1745 at Fontenoy; in 1746 at Culloden. Came to America in 1756. Fought under Abercromby at Ticonderoga, 1758. Made Brigade Major by Amherst in 1759 campaign. In October of that year he was left in charge of Crown Point. He projected a large settlement at head of Lake Champlain, and settled several families. In 1762 at Havana and Martinique. In 1765, granted township near Lake Champlain, named Skenesborough. Confiscated after the War of Independence. He died in England, 1810.

## 138 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

found out one of the large boats that were sunk ; the Radeau not finished as was promised me. I wrote to Coventry to send Frasers 130 men directly back to New York, that they might proceed to Louisbourg & Quebec. . .

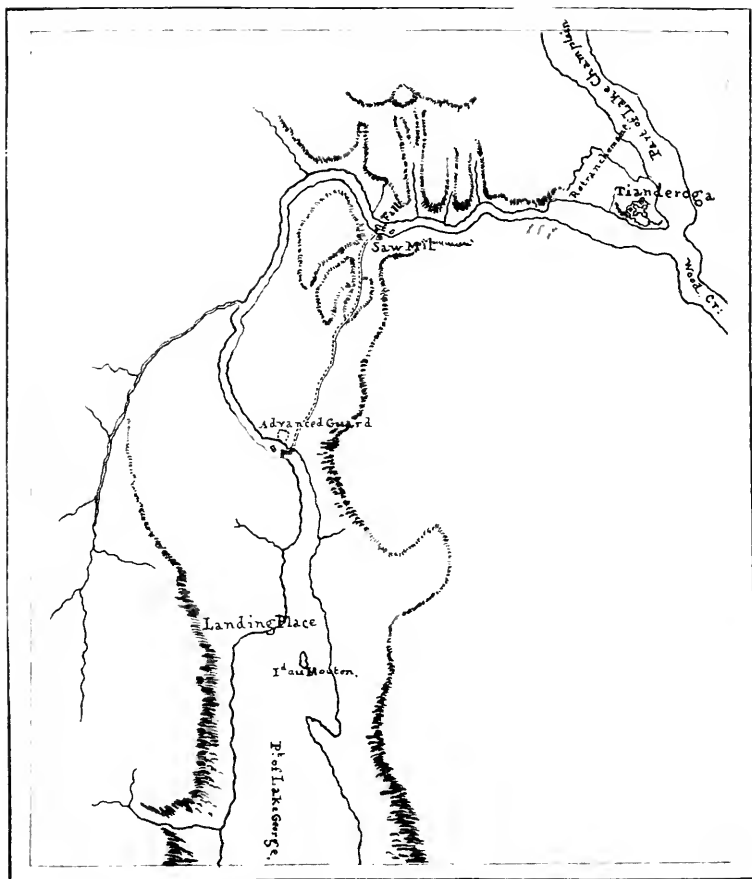
15th. 120 of Montgomerys that came from Lancaster in Philadelphia arrived in Camp, and near 100 of recovered men of the Massachusetts Troops.

I sent a party out at ten at night in whale boats & batteaux to get to the Narrows before daybreak & try to cut off any Party. Consisted of 250 of Gages, 3 of Grenadiers & 60 Volunteers of Inniskilling Regt. 50 of Gages went in the English flat-bottomed boat with a three-Pounder in her mounted as a Swivel. Colonel Townshend<sup>116</sup> went with the Party; Major Gladwin commanded Gages.

16th. At daybreak I marched five Picquets of the Provincials with 150 Rangers to take post on the Western side of the Lake, about seven miles from Camp, to secure a retreat to Col Townshend in case of any superior numbers of the Enemy being on the look out. About one o'clock Col Townshends Party returned and had not seen anything. Major Ord launched the Radeau at five in the evening. Montgomerys Detachment and those of the Provincials which came in last night fired ball at a mark. 50 of the Rhode Island Troops arrived. The Royal fired two pounds of ball at the three miles Post. I tried all I could to forward things that I may get away as soon as possible.

17th. I sent out 500 men to begin to make another road

<sup>116</sup> ROGER TOWNSHEND: Fourth son of third Viscount Townshend. Lieutenant-Colonel, 1756; Adjutant-General at Louisbourg 1758; Deputy Adjutant-General, 1759, ranking as Colonel. Killed in action at Ticonderoga, 1759; buried at Albany. A monument was afterwards erected in Westminster Abbey.



COUNTRY BETWEEN LAKE GEORGE AND LAKE CHAMPLAIN

*Sketch made by Amherst in his Journal.*



## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 139

that hereafter if the Enemy crosses the Lake the march from Fort Edward to this Place may not be hindered by all the Enemy can do. As I can't cross the Lake till the Artillery and whale boats are ready I may as well keep on doing other things tending to the defence of this Fort, as I lose no time by it.

I received a letter from Col Haldimand from Oswego of the 7th July acquainting me that Br. Prideaux went from thence on the first and that on the 5th the Indian Howling was heard, and he had a Report from some People he had sent out in a Batteau that they had seen 100 Batteaus on the Lake. Between 11 & 12 some Indians & Canadians appeared all round him and made a shew of attacking his two Redoubts from whence he obliged them by his fire to hide themselves in the woods & from thence they continued firing till sun sett & then were quiet all night.

A Deserter of the Marine<sup>117</sup> came in; said Mons de la Corne<sup>118</sup> commanded the Party, consisting of 2 or 300 Marine, 1,300 Canadians & 150 Indians, and that they were in hopes of surprising the Post, that the Abbé Piquit marched at the head of them till they begun the attack, encouraging them to the Plunder they were to get and to give Quarter to none. The night passed without any Alarm. At daybreak the Indians appeared and half after 7 the greatest Part marched to our left as if they intended to attack our retrenchment, but two pieces of Cannon loaded with Grape with the fire from the musketry drove them

117 A French Colonial force "*Troupe de la Marine*," recruited chiefly among Canadians. It had no connection with the navy.

118 LA CORNE DE ST LUC, LOUIS LUC: Stationed at Fort St. Frederic (Crown Point) 1741-1747; at La Présentation, 1752; in 1753 commanded west of Lake Superior. At La Présentation, 1759, when Fort Niagara fell. He attacked Haldimand in Fort Ontario but was repulsed. He left Canada, in 1761, in the *Auguste* but was wrecked at Cape Breton; he walked to Quebec afterward in winter. Remained in Canada. In 1775 raised a company of Indians to fight the Americans.

## 140 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

back very soon. They tried three times to set fire to the Batteaus but finding all their attempts miscarry they left off firing & retired at 11 o'clock in 75 Batteaus. Capt Sowers the Engineer was wounded in the Head not mortal; Lt Otter wounded, two men killed & 11 wounded. The Enemy buried their dead & took off their wounded which were traced by their blood to their Batteaus. Six Deserters of the Marine came in, all Germans, who reported an officer of the Marine was killed & that they saw about 20 men wounded. Mons. La Corne has gained as little honor as intelligence by this attack as he has neither taken Prisoner or Scalp, though the Deserters say he offered a thousand Livres for one. Col Haldimand commends much the Behavior of his men & says that during the two days there was not the least appearance of confusion. The Enemy in coming to Oswego ran a Sloop on a Rock; were obliged to cut the masts to take her back to la Gallette to repair her.

Major Ord putting his Artillery Stores on board, & preparing as fast as possible, in the Afternoon I saw a boat coming on the Lake & soon perceived it a Flag of Truce. I sent Capt. Prescott to meet him & ordered a Company of light Infantry as a guard at the Point on the East side of the Lake. Capt Prescott came with the Letters as soon as the light Infantry joined him. It was a Mons de Bernier, Capt of Milice,<sup>119</sup> with a Letter from Mons de Montcalm of the 14th at Monreall, and one from Mons Burlamaque of the 17th at Ticonderoga; nothing in them, an excuse to see what we were about, in which I took care he should not succeed. As Capt Sowers was wounded at Oswego I sent away Ensign Rives as soon as I received Col Haldimands Letter.

18th. . . . I answered Mons de Montcalms & Mons Burlamaque's Letters and sent Mons de Bernier away soon after

119 French Canadian Militia.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 141

day break; Capt Abercromby had staid with him all night. Major Ord thought he should be ready tomorrow night.

19th. I received a Letter from Lt Governor DeLancey acquainting me that on the 15th the Rye Man of War & Transports from Guadeloupe arrived at New York and he enclosed me a Return of the Draughts; several had died, many sick; but he would forward all he could to Albany. I had no Letter but a copy of a Return

M Gen Howards	271
M Gen Elliots	201
Col Barrington	221.....693
R Highlanders	507.....507

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Signed	Adjut Genl.	1200
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and from Guadeloupe of the 25th of June. Major Ord tried his Rafts & Radeau; promised to be ready tomorrow night. I ordered the Royal & Prideaux's to march tomorrow morning.

20th. I gave orders for preparing everything for embarking the Royal & Prideaux's marched in. I was forced to have a notorious Thief of Forbes who was pardoned under the Gallows at Louisbourg shot. It is a vast deall of time it takes up to prepare everything. Major Ord will now have hardly done by the middle of the night and all the whale boats not yet ready, a little mistake in the height of the Port Holes of the Radeau, but she will do. Fired every gun out of her to try. Ordered the General at two in the morning.

21st. The General at two in the morning. Two ten Inch Mortars sunk last night and the wharf gave way. I got everything embarked as fast as possible after a great many changes of boats I was obliged to make. I could not have gone if I had waited for all the Artillery to set out, so left Br. Gage to see

## 142 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

all off & the sloop to bring up. The Rear got all under way about nine and the wind being fair we got through the narrows and I advanced the Heads of the Columns as far as I could without being seen from the Enemys Post and there stoped that the whole might come up. Ordered the Corps under Col Haviland to lead as soon as possible in the morning.

Br. Gage & Major Ord came up at night. Montgomerys 150 men arrived at Fort George. Great deal of rain in the day & some wind at night that made it impossible to keep the Columns quite well together.

22nd. At day break the whole got into the order of Rowing & after giving a proper time to Col Haviland to advance we put forward. As the Enemy had no Party at the place called the advanced Guard & that Col Haviland was to cut off the Retreat of any Partys that might be out. I landed the light Infantry of Gages to the Right and Lymans being the first of the left Column to the left as flankers, as far as the water would carry them. Landed and marched forward covering Schuylers & Ruggles Regts who cleared the Road, which must have cost them a good deal of trouble to have laid the timber across. A Report from Col Grant the Enemy had attacked our advanced Partys. I ordered Post to be taken on the rising grounds beyond the saw mills & that the Army was ready to sustain it & marched on accordingly. I had the Carpenters immediately repair the bridge and brought up two twelve-and two six-Pounders as soon as I got the Road cleared, which the Provincials did vastly well. The Party of the Enemy disputed the ground but a little while afterwards continued firing at a great distance. We took two Prisoners killed three or four men, had one man only killed and wounded. I lay on my Arms the night, threw up a Post at the Landing Place, another at the Saw Mills & a third to keep possession of the commanding ground. A

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 143

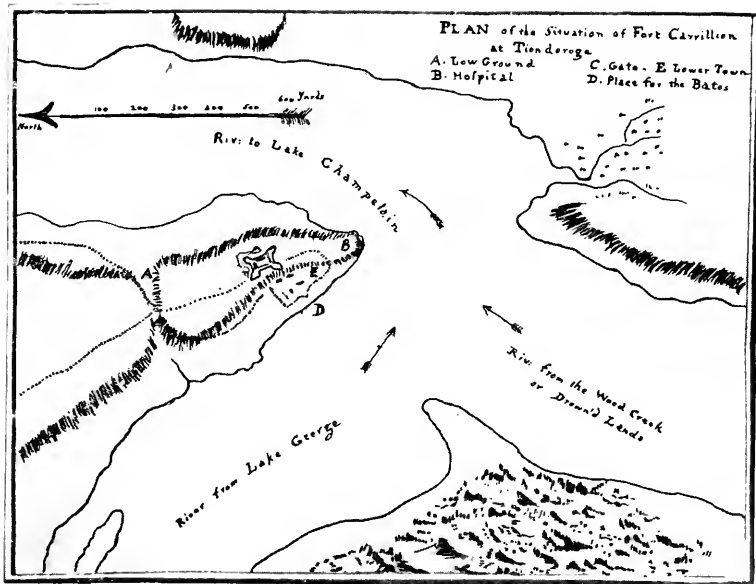
little firing in the night. I had ordered the Army to be ready to march at day break & intended to march by the rising Grounds strait to Lake Champlain, but the Cannon the Enemy had seen me bring over the Sawmills, I imagine, determined them not to dispute the Lines but to march off and leave a Garrison to defend the Place, for as soon as it cleared,

23rd. in the morning the Officers commanding Posts opposite to Ticonderoga reported to me all their tents struck and that the whole was gone off in the Sloops and batteaus. I marched as I had before intended but as my intelligence was very sure I proceeded over the broken ground to the Lines instead of marching across and taking Posts to advance in a full Front. On some of the light Infantry appearing the Garrison began to cannonade but the Lines covered the march of the Columns and I put the Lines in my Front, taking Possession of some of the advantageous Ground within, opening communications & throwing up a banquet for the Regts to defend the Lines against any Sortie the Garrison could make and I employed as many men as I had tools for to cover themselves within the Lines. The Army lay on their Arms. The Disposition was the two Brigades of English at the Lines, Rangers, light Infantry of Regts & Gages & Grenadiers with three Batts of Provincials covering the Rear. Those Batts at the landing Place to guard Artillery Provisions Batteaus &c. Two opposite Ticonderoga, one at the Post at the Saw mills, two on the Communication from the Sawmills to this. They threw Shells and cannonaded from the Fort all day and most part of the night with no effect. I sent for the tents but could get so few up that the Army lay on their Arms all night. Made a Banquet, kept the Picquets under Arms, ordered Col Haviland to take an advanced Post by the Lakeside.

## 144 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

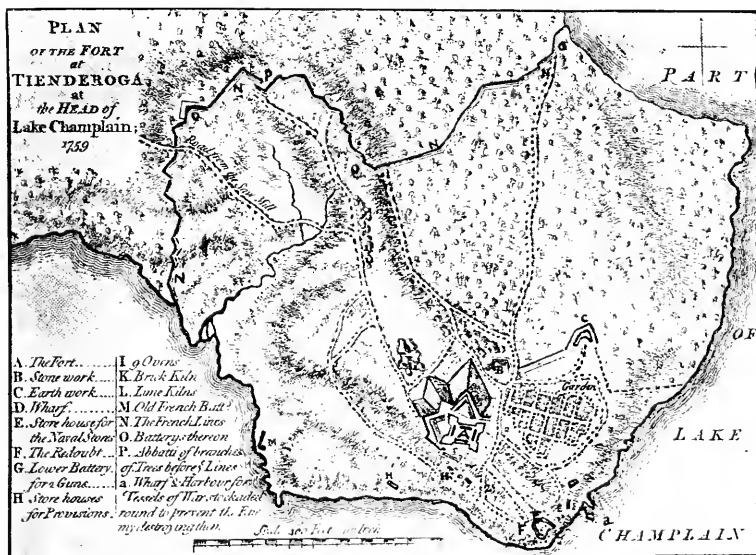
24th. The Garrison burnt all their outhouses on the Lake side of the Fort,<sup>120</sup> stript off the shingles from their buildings & kept a continual fire of cannon and throwing Shells opened trenches at three different Places & kept working all day from landing to this day inclusive. We had one Ensign one Corporal & four Privates killed and thirty wounded. I got up two twelve-Pounders,, one for each Flank of the Camp, ordered the Artillery to be got up as fast as possible, made a wharf for landing them near the left where not seen from the Fort & put them on Rafts to bring them from the Sawmills. Some canoes passing up & down the Lake, taking the Indians off & what they can carry I suppose from the Fort. The Trenches advanced apace; I covered the working men by Picquets. I sent Lt Small with the New Hampshire Regt. back to Fort George & he is to conduct that Regt with all the Expedition he can to Oswego that no hands may be wanted there for building the Fort and that Brig Gen Prideaux may have at all events on his return from Niagara a full sufficient Force to proceed to la Gallette. Sent an order for the two Companys, one of the New Hampshire

120 FORT CARILLON: After Dieskau's defeat, in 1755, Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, ordered a fort to be built at Carillon on Lake Champlain. The Chief Engineer was a Canadian, Chartier de Lotbiniere, assisted by Capt. Germain, of the Queen's Regt., and Adjutant Joannes of the Languedoc. The fort was named Fort Vaudreuil; it was square with four bastions, and defended by a redoubt on a hill commanding the fort. It was, later, named Fort Carillon and enlarged and strengthened between 1755 and 1758. The name Carillon means a chime of bells, and is probably derived from the music of the cascade at the outlet of Lake George, above the modern village of Ticonderoga. The native name "Onderoga" or "Ticonderoga" is said to describe the noise of these falling waters. The fort, in 1758, was angular in form, divided into several parts by deep ditches. The communication between them was made by stone stair-cases placed in the high angles, arranged to make the route circuitous. The walls were high and covered with timber and earth to protect the barracks. After its capture by the British it was named Fort Ticonderoga.



### FORT TICONDEROGA

Sketch made by Amherst in his Journal.



### FORT TICONDEROGA, 1759

Published in London, 1763.



## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 145

& one of the Massachusetts, to go from No. 4<sup>121</sup> & Fort Dummer to Albany to join their Regts from thence. Made a road from the new landing Place to Lake Champlain; sent for whale boats and the large boats for guns if possible to get it down. Such a continued fire from the Fort the men were obliged to stay all night out of their Tents. Last night Part of Col Havilands Corps were alarmed & firing too quick Ensign Harrison was killed & 12 men wounded.

25th. In the night past our working Party being a little alarmed began to fire which drew on some fire from the Picquets who lay on the Lines in front of the Camp, but soon Officers stopt it, with yesterdays work we shall get the Batteries on to night, six 24-Pounders in the Park of Artillery. I got the English flat bottomed boat to Lake Champlain & some whale-boats. Sent to the first landing Place for Provisions, had the old Sawmills inspected & ordered them to be put in order, which Capt Loring said would be done in eight days. Sent for Col Babcocks Regt. to the first landing Place in the room of the New Hampshire. Colonel Townshend killed by a Cannon ball. The loss of a friend is not made up by all the success that a Campaign can give to ones self personally—*villain metier, celle du soldat*. Ordered the Duty in the Trenches to be done by Battalion, the Royal to mount to night.

26th. The Trenches advanced apace and the Batteries to

121 NUMBER 4: In 1736, a committee of the General Court of Massachusetts advised the laying out of a series of townships, between the Merrimack and Connecticut rivers, and on both sides of the latter. They were numbered 1 to 9. Of these No. 4 was later named Charleston. It is now in New Hampshire. A fort was built at an early date as a defence against the French and Indians from Canada. In 1747, it was attacked by the enemy under M. Debeline, but was gallantly held by Capt. Phineas Stevens and 30 men. Sir Charles Knowles, then in Boston, sent Stevens a sword in recognition of his defence, and, in 1753, when the place was incorporated, it was named Charlestown in compliment to Knowles.

## 146 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

be ready this night. The Artillery will be up that we may open Batteries of six 24-Pounders, and a Battery of Mortars. Everything was preparing to open the Batteries at day break. Some dispute with the Engineers and Artillery Officers who were to lay the Platforms which I cut very short by finding another to do it, at the same time telling them it was the duty of the Artillery Officers to do it but when I named Lt Col Robertson to make the Platforms, the Engineers then took it on themselves. I had ordered Major Rogers to go to night and cut the boom, and I put up three tents and made a fire on the eastern side which had a good effect for the Enemy kept firing at it as much as if there had been a real Camp there. About ten o'clock a Deserter came in & said the Garrison was to get off and to blow up the Fort. I wrote to Major Rogers immediately to attack them, and soon we saw the Fort on fire and an Explosion but as the Deserter said a Match was laid to blow the whole up I would not order any men into it. However some volunteers went & brought away the Colours and I sent two other Deserters with some volunteers to try and cut the Match, who on their arrival found that there was no more danger so I sent

27th. hands and Camp Kettles to try all we could to extinguish the fire. I wrote a short Letter to Mr Pitt & sent my Brother with it that he might give an account of the whole from the 22nd to this day. We have 16 men killed, 51 wounded and one of the light Infantry of Prideaux's missing. I destroyed the Banquet I had made, struck the Tents & marched into the Lines which I ordered to be repaired & the Trenches and batteries to be levelled. Encamped at night within the Lines, ordered the Rangers, light Infantry & Grenadiers, Lymans & Worcesters to fill up the Road entirely that I had made to Lake Champlain, and the Rangers to march to morrow beyond the Sawmills; Lymans, Worcesters, Schuyler & Fitch to encamp near the Fort

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 147

to work at the Repairs. Sent 500 men under Col Fitch to Fort George for Provisions; ordered all French boats to be fished up & boats built for carrying 24-Pounders that I may be superior to the Enemy's Sloops on the Lake. We took in the Fort, two 18-Pounders, one 16, seven 12, four 9, four 6, one 4, seven Swivels, two 13 Inch Mortars, one  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , one 8-Inch Howitzer with Shot Shells, 56 musquets, intrenching tools, great quantity old Iron, and 50 barrels of Powder taken out of a boat on attacking them on their retreat from the Fort.

28th. The fire was not yet totally extinguished. I pressed to get things forwarded as fast as possible that I may set out for Crown Point without loss of time. In the Afternoon I received an account of a most unhappy affair the death of Br General Prideaux who was walking in the Trenches in the evening on the 19th Instant; the Gunner carelessly fired a Cohorn & shot his head to pieces. This is unlucky; indeed, the loss of a good Officer a good man may overturn all the intended operations on that side but as they were advanced to within 140 yards of the covered way I hope Sir Wm. Johnson will pursue the same plan as begun by Mr Prideaux, and success cannot fail. I immediately ordered Br Gen Gage to set out for Oswego to take the command for future operations which are of the greatest consequence to the general. Plan of the reducing of all Canada & might fail on Sr Wms (Sir Wm. Johnson) and Colonel Haldimand's disputing the command.

29th. We thought we had got the fire quite out, but it appeared again a little. Br Gage set off for Oswego: Col. Fitch returned with his detachment to the Landing Place. Intelligence that the Troops which were encamped on the eastern side of the Lake were now encamped at Crown Point where the Garrison of Ticonderoga must have joined them.

## 148 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

I kept small Partys constantly looking into Crown Point. The two Sloops and a Schooner are there to cover their boats. They depend on my not getting my boats over & being forced to build some for Cannon, but I shall be ready sooner than they imagine. Sent a Highland Regt to Landing Place to help.

30th. The Fire broke out again in the Fort; all the People at work that there was room for. I pressed to have the batteaus & whale boats over as soon as possible.

31st. I sent Col Haviland to help get the boats over. The fire at the Fort not quite extinguished, I ordered the Fort by the water side to be put in thorough good order. The Enemy had not quite finished it, and I will repair the Fort upon the same Plan as the Enemy had built it which will save great expense & and give no room for the Engineers to exercise their genius which will be much better employed at Crown Point. I heard some Guns from Crown Point at eleven o'clock. I am trying all I can to get forward. It is a little unlucky that three principal People in their Departments, viz., Bradstreet, Loring and Ord are always pulling different ways. I try to keep them as good Friends as I can and to convince them that their duty is to forward everything for the good of the Service and to assist one another. A Deserter came in last night from Crown Point, had left it before the Garrison from hence had got there.

I received a letter from Br Stanwix at Carlisle. Things going on slow there; they might mend their pace. I wrote accordingly. . .

### *August:*

1st. I got the whale boats for the light Infantry & partly for the Grenadiers, but not batteaus enough for a Regt as the Regts are ordered to have four days bread ready baked beforehand. I can go the Instant I get the batteaus. At noon a

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 149

Scouting Party came in with Intelligence that the Enemy had abandoned Crown Point, and that they have done it on the news of Quebec being taken, or supposing that I may soon have my boats to follow them and that they will find it difficult to escape me. This made no alteration in my motions as I am trying all I can to get forward, but on this I sent away Major Graham with all Expedition to command the Second Battn of the R Highland and to march them to Oswego, that in case, from the unfortunate death of Br Prideaux, the Reduction of Niagara should not have taken place, Br Gage may return to the attack with the utmost vigor & dispatch, and if Niagara is taken Br Gage then to go to la Gallette and take Post there & proceed to Montrealle that the Enemy may be pressed and attacked in every Corner, which cant fail of Success. I sent Major Rogers and Capt Abercromby sixteen miles up South Bay to cross from thence to Lake George and reconnoitre the shortest and easiest passage for making a Road; by this Ticonderoga will be as good a Post for us as it was for the Enemy. If there is no other Communication but by the Saw mills & the Enemy gets Possession of Crown Point, their business would then be to land & take the same position as I intended for taking the Lines & they would easily cut off the Communications by the Saw mills. But this other way they cannot cut off & Ticonderoga is an excellent Post, and the Lines are to the full as advantageous to us as they were to them.

2nd. The whale boats not yet all got over and a Rain coming on this morning made the Roads so slippery that Col Bradstreet wrote me word it had totally put a stop to carriages passing. Things of repairs going on well at the Fort; our brewery things at last got up it will save several lives. It will not be possible for me I fear to get away till tomorrow for want of boats.

## 150 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

3rd. A Party I sent to Crown Point brought in a Deserter from Forbes in a French boat, one that I had pardoned for Desertion at Fort George. I thought it so necessary to make an immediate example I called the commanding Officers together to judge of his Desertion and to report to me if they thought he should suffer death; on which report I ordered him to be hanged directly.

As everything was now settled for repairing the Fort I resolved to proceed to Crown Point tomorrow, which I could not do if the Enemy was there as I shall want many boats but I cant too soon begin securing a Post there as tis the place to cover all this country & I hope to repair Ticonderoga, make a secure Post at Crown Point & go on with the necessary preparations of a Brig and boats to go to St Johns & pursue the Enemy without any loss of time. I sent two Captains and 200 men of the Rangers through the woods to go to Crown Point & ordered the General to beat at two in the morning.

4th. I got the two Brigades embarked very soon except the R. Highland Regt who had not yet got their boats, which kept me waiting some. The order of Rowing was—Gages formed the advanced Guard, covered the Columns from right to left, had two boats with three Pounders. The Left Column marched by the Right consisted of the Rangers, light Infantry & Grenadiers as the first to land. The Right Column was intended of Ruggle's & Babcocks but they could not get their boats, & the Artillery was to have formed the 2nd Column; the Right with Schuylers & Fitchs Regts but we could only bring a Part of the Artillery & the Regts staid behind for want of batteaus. The third Column was of the two Brigades of Regulars, and I had three 24-Pounders and a 12-Pounder in boats with the Columns. The wind blew very hard against us which made it great labour to get on. We however reached Crown Point in

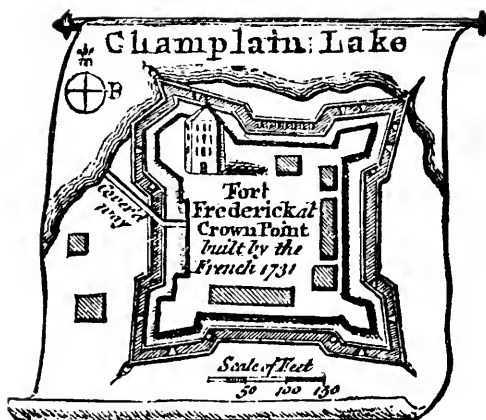


ROBERT ROGERS  
Commandeur der Americaner.

*From a German line engraving in  
Dr. J. C. Webster's collection.*

CROWN POINT,  
GROUND PLAN

*From the London Magazine  
Sept., 1756.*



CROWN POINT.



## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 151

the evening where I landed without opposition and I reconnoitred the whole Ground and ordered the G. Master to mark out the Camp; the Regts that could not get their tents lay on their Arms.

The Enemy has in part blown up the Fort<sup>122</sup> and intended to do more. We saved the four Barrels of Powder. I ordered the Engineers to reconnoitre the best place for erecting a Fort that I may set about it so soon as possible. This is a great Post gained, secures entirely all the country behind it, and the situation and country about is better than anything I have seen. At night Lt Moncrief<sup>123</sup> arrived with the most important news of the Surrender of Niagara,<sup>124</sup> the Garrison consisting of 607 men Prisoners of War. On the 24th of July the Enemy's Partys from Venango, Presquile, Detroit and the Illinois assembled and attacked our People. Sr Wm Johnson had intelligence of their approach and disposed his People that he beat & routed

122 FORT ST. FREDERIC: Erected by Beauharnois, Governor General of Canada, at Crown Point, in 1731, and named after Frederic Maurepas, French secretary of state. It was greatly strengthened in later years. There was a small village half a mile south-west of the fort. Until 1759 St. Frederic was the chief French seat of power on Lake Champlain. Then Amherst captured it and built a new fort. The date 1751 was on the fort captured by Amherst. It was a pentagon with bastions at each angle, and a strong redoubt 250 yards in advance of each. It was surrounded by a ditch, walled in with stone, the walls being nearly 25 feet high; they measured half a mile in circumference. There was an underground passage to the lake. Within the fortress was a level area bounded by long stone buildings. The fortress would accommodate 4000 men.

123 THOMAS MONCRIEF: Lieutenant of 1st or Royal Regt. of Foot, 1756; He was at Niagara under Prideaux, and brought news of the capture of the fort to Amherst, August 4, 1759.

124 FORT NIAGARA: The first fort was erected by Denonville, in 1687, but was abandoned by the French in September, 1688. In 1725 it was rebuilt by order of Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, being finished the following year. Though referred to as the Mess House or Castle, it was really a fort. Pouchot was sent to strengthen it, in 1755, and later he was in command. In 1759 it was captured by the British under Prideaux and Sir William Johnson, the former being killed.

## 152 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

them, took 160 Prisoners exclusive of 17 Officers. They supposed the Enemy seventeen hundred. The day after, being the 25th, the Garrison surrendered Prisoners of War.

15th. Part of Fitches and Babcocks Regts arrived as likewise Ruggles's at night. I sent to Ticonderoga for spruce beer, ordered 100 men of the Rangers to cut a Road to Ticonderoga that cattle may be drove from thence which will be of great use, sent out a boat with a three Pounder to reconnoitre down the Lake, found a large field of pease, ordered them to be divided amongst the Army, sent Mr Rogers on the other side the Lake to see for the best Place for cutting timber to erect the Fort, gave him leave to shoot Deer; he killed three and seven Bears. I reviewed all the Ground round, ordered Posts at proper Places sent away Captain Prescott at night to Mr Pitt with news of Niagara. Sent for Spruce beer<sup>125</sup> & bread from Ticonderoga, proposed to send one of Major Rogers People to try to get to Genl Wolfe but they would not undertake it.

Take 7 Pounds of good Spruce & boil it well tills the bark peels off, then take the Spruce out & put three Gallons of Molasses to the Liquor & boil it again, scum it well as it boils, then take it out the Kettle & put it into a cooler, boil the remainder of the Water sufficient for a Barrel of thirty Gallons, if the Kettle is not large enough to boil it together, when milkwarm in the Cooler put a Pint of Yest into it and mix well. Then put in the Barrel and let it work for two or three days, keep filling it up as it works out. When done working, bung it up with a Tent Peg in the Barrel to give it vent every now and then. It may be used in two or three days after. If wanted to be bottled it should stand a fortnight in the Cask. It will keep a great while.

<sup>125</sup> The following is the recipe for making spruce beer, as given by Amherst in his Journal.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 153

6th. The four Provincial Batts of Schuyler, Fitch, Babcock & Ruggles cleared away their Ground; half of Schuylers yet behind. The Ground marked out for the Fort. At night 40 of the Draft from Guadeloupe arrived the only ones remaining well after the 350 I have sent to Oswego.

7th. I went out in the morning with a covering Party and reconnoitred all round, ordered the Road from the New Fort to the village to be cut out strait & to join the one making to drive cattle &c from Ticonderoga. Ordered two Redoubts. No likelihood of the Enemys coming but I cant be too secure. Letters in the afternoon from New York that my brother sailed the 2nd. I wrote to Gen Wolfe; got Ensign Hutchings of the Rangers to set out with it.

8th. As it is of consequence that I should hear from Gen Wolfe as well as he should likewise hear from me I concluded to send Capt Kennedy with Lt Hamilton, Capt Jacobs, and four Indians to go through the settlements of the Eastern Indians with a proposal from me & take their answer to Mr Wolfe whom I have directed to treat them accordingly. Last night and this morning a great storm of wind and Rain damaged some of our Batteaus. The boats with the Guns cant live in this Lake in bad weather. I ordered two Scouts to St Johns, sent 200 Rangers to cut a Road to open a communication from New England & New Hampshire to Crown Point. Ordered a Party for cutting hay for the Cattle in the winter and a Party of 334 with a covering Party of a Compy of light Infantry & one of Grenadiers to lay in the woods to prepare timber for the Fort, sent Capt Abercromby to Ticonderoga to see how things went on. 68 oxen arrived by the new Road from Ticonderoga for drawing the timber, &c.

9th. Enclosed the old Garden and added to it; it will be of vast help to the Troops in the winter. 400 men at work on

## 154 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

the Ground where the Fort is to be, the first situation I think I have seen in America that is no where commanded. It will have all the advantages of the Lake and of the situation of Ground that can be wished for.

10th. The work at the Fort going on pretty well, employed 800 workmen.

A good deal of Rain; from all accounts more rain this summer than any People remember in this country. I ordered a Party to reconnoitre Otter River.

11th. At day break a Party of 200 Rangers, 100 of Gages, a Company of light Infantry, and one of Grenadiers assembled under the command of Lt Col Darby. They were to take two boats with three-Pounders and one with a twelve-Pounder to explore the mouth of the Otter River, but the twelve-Pounder not rowing so well as the other boats Lt Col Darby sent it back. At one o'clock ten men of the Scouting Party of Rangers I had sent under the command of Ensign Wilson to go half to the Right of the Lake & half to the Left to St. Johns, returned with a note from Capt Kennedy that Wilson thought his Party too large so sent these back & to inform me that he saw a Brigantine, a Schooner, and a topsail sloop of the Enemys and about 12 boats that they put in from the Vessels, as he supposed, on discovering his Party, that he got to the eastern side below Corliers Rock from whence he saw the Vessels at Anchor & thinks they have not seen his Party as sent no boats to the Island where he was when he supposed himself discovered. They go by water one night more and then strike into the woods. The ten Rangers said they saw the lights of the Vessels in the night; as they passed they met Col Darby & told him what they had discovered. I sent a twelve-Pounder out to join him if he came within sight; if not to stay

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 155

out and return by night to get back by the time tis dark. If the Enemy see Col Darby they will probably hasten back to St John to give the Alarm that the whole is advancing. The 12-Pounder returned at night.

12th. Bad rainy weather in the morning. Letters from England of the 9th June by the Lutwyche Packet. I sent for more Tools, more Carpenters & everything as wanted to carry on the works of the Fort. At 3 in the Afternoon C. Gask returned from Otter River which answers no more to the description than a Mill Race to the Thames. It is about 60 or 70 yards over & a Swamp on each side. Lt Col Darby came in with the Party about 5 in the afternoon & with the boat with the 12-Pounder that I sent out this morning to meet him. Ordered 1400 workmen for the Fort, besides wood cutters and Artificers in abundance.

13th. Got a good deal of hay made. Recommended in the orders that the Officers and soldiers should exert themselves in carrying on the very essential work, the building of the Fort. Ordered Capt Johnson with ten Rangers to march to the Otter River to the Place Captain Hanks crosses it in his Road to No 4 and then to proceed down the Otter River to explore the whole and return here by the Lake. Major Christie arrived in the Afternoon from New York & England. 1500 men at work on the Fort.

14th. I sent Major Christie<sup>126</sup> to serve as Deputy Quarter Master General with Br General Gage where he will be of use as he is a very good & diligent Officer but can do nothing here as

126 GABRIEL CHRISTIE: Capt. 48th Foot, 1754. Fought at Louisbourg, 1758. Major and Dep. Q.M.G., 1759; Lieut.-Col. 60th Regt. 1760 and fought under Amherst. General, 1798, in which year he died. At one time proprietor of Isle aux Noix and adjacent properties, which he sold to the Crown.

## 156 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

he and Bradstreet will never agree. I wrote to Br Gage to recommend the Post of la Gallette as of the utmost consequence to this country, only repeating what I have before ordered. Sent for more Tools, got fifty-four more Carpenters from the Regts at Ticonderoga. This is all over and above what was first asked for building the Fort; and my instructions are to attempt nothing but what we are sure to finish before winter. Ordered to be sent a Proportion of Stores from Albany & New York for the Artillery of the Garrison of Niagara.

15th. The same number of men continuing to work at the Fort. A letter from New York that the Packet would be ready to sail very soon with Capt Prescott. About eleven an Officer of Gages who was with a covering Party to cut Hay on the Eastern side of the Lake brought me a letter from Mons de Montcalm and one from Mons Bourlemaque sent by a flag of truce which he stoped and brought in his dispatches. Mons de Montcalm was of the 30th July from Beauport. I take it for granted he wrote it about the 6th or 7th of this month and I should imagine everything is going well with Mr. Wolfe. Mons Bourlemaques the 13th Aug; nothing material in either of them, an excuse for sending. I answered them immediately and dispatched Capt Abercromby to entertain Capt Le Beu and to send him off with the Answers. Began to lay the logs at the Fort this day.

16th. I had a letter from Capt Prescott of the 11th that he got to New York the 8th at night; the Packet boat arrived the 7th, and he was just going on board when he had wrote to me. A Deserter came in of the Regt of Languedoc; came from the four Vessels the Enemy has below les Isles au quatre Vents described on the 14th. He says he was all winter in Garrison at Ticonderoga, that when we arrived there there were the two Batts of Berry, one of La Reine & the Picquets of Languedoc,

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 157

Bearn, La Sarre, & Roussillon, which Picquets were their winter Garrison, who were joined likewise this Spring by Canadians & some of La Marine; that when they quitted the Fort the Officer who commanded and another Officer were forced to land on the opposite side on our cannonading them, and they were three days in the woods and had seen some of our men, I suppose the Rangers I sent out; that Mons Bourlemaque is encamped at the Isle au Noix which is about six leagues on this side St Johns and the River Narrows, that he is making an Intrenchment all round & has near 100 Cannon; that the four Vessels are La Vigilante of 10 Pieces of Cannon 6 & 4-Pounders, a Schooner, a Sloop called Musquelonguy. A Captain of a Man of war commands, Monsieur De le Bras has 2 brass 12-Pounders and 6 Iron six-Pounders, la Brochette of 8 Guns 6 & 4-Pounders comanded by Mons Regal, an Officer of Man of war, L' Eturgeon of 8 Guns of 6- & 4-Pounders. All of them have Swivels mounted. Three were built this year; one is an old one, the Picquets of Bearn & La Sarre on board, and there is another repairing. As he told me the Officers and men went on shore to fish I sent out Capt Tute<sup>127</sup> and forty men to try to catch some. Sent to Capt Loring to come to me that we may prepare force enough to be superior to these Sloops. Col Bradstreet came in the Afternoon. All going well at the Landing Place I ordered him to Albany to look into the forwarding provisions up the Mohawk River for winter Garrisons at Niagara, Oswego & la Gallette.

17th. As all the timber was brought in from the opposite shore I ordered back this day the Company of Grenadiers & light Infantry. Capt. Loring came to me and said the Sawmill would go in two or three days. I told him the force the Enemy

127 JAMES TUTE: In Rogers' Rangers. Taken prisoner twice by the French.

## 158 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

had and he said the Brig he was building was not sufficient strength without some further help, and with Mr. Ord & him we concluded the quickest and best thing to be done, as the boats we have will not carry the 24-Pounders on this Lake, is to build a sort of Radeau for carrying the six 24-Pounders which can be done in ten days. This is Ord's favourite Scheme but Capt Loring thought it likewise the best thing to be done. I sent Capt Garth to see how things went on at Ticonderoga, ordered Col Whittings Regt. to bring provisions, Lt Col Ingersol with the first Battn of Ruggles to make the Road from Ticonderoga, and Col Willard to divide his Regt half at the Landing Place & tother half at the Sawmills as 100 men at each of those Places is now full sufficient, & Whittings Regt. will be of service in erecting the Fort here.

18th. Last night about midnight three Guns were heard on the Lake; it may be the Enemys Vessels have discovered the Party I sent out. 1600 men at work at the Fort to day, besides those in the woods, Artificers &c. I received a Letter from Br Gage of the 10th from Fort Stanwix, a Letter from New York that Capt. Prescott sailed the 12th. A Letter from Mons de Pouchot the Comandant at Niagara, a Capt in Bearn, that an officer had deserted on the March which he disapproved of much; the officer had signed the Capitulation, was a Lieut., a Canadian; took three men off with him.

19th. Ensign Wilson returned with his Party of Rangers from St. Johns. Said two of his men who had been Prisoners at St. Johns had been within two miles of it, could not get nearer to it as they heard a great yelling of Indians & were amongst them. There is very little to be depended on all they say as they generally make out a story to come back with, & they came back ignorant of everything this time except that Capt Kennedy

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 159

parted with them up Mischiscoy Bay, & as they came back they saw three of the Enemys Vessels lying at the same Place as before. Two of Gages light Infantry deserted last night.

20th. It rained hard which put a little stop to our work. I ordered a fence to close in all the best of the Ground, by which we shall at all times keep in the cattle, and it will be a vast advantage to the Fort. In the evening some Rangers reported they had seen seven Enemy Indians; it may be, but unlikely. I ordered a Party after them. This morning Capt Abercromby, with Lt Davis of the Artillery, and Lt Trumbul & 24 men of the light Infantry and Lt Holmes and six Rangers, went to the West to explore the upper part of the Hudson River & country about there.

21st. It rained very hard; retarded our works. I had a Party after the seven Indians. Part came back and reported they had tracked them, & left the rest pursuing; their reports very likely to be false. At night the remainder came back, could not overtake. Capt Abercrombys Party must have crossed them. At night two men of late Prideaux's missing who had contrary to orders been on the other side the Lake.

22nd. I went to Lt Col Putnams<sup>128</sup> Post five miles up the Lake where they are cutting the timber; all going on well there. I sent two Scouts off this night; Lt Flecher & ten men of the Rangers to St Johns & a Sergt & eight men of the Rangers to Isle au Noix, who were likewise to proceed to opposite to St Johns to try to take Prisoners for Intelligence. A Scout I sent

128 ISRAEL PUTNAM: Born in West Salem, Mass., 1718. In 1755, he raised and commanded a company against the French; Major, 1757; Lieut.-Colonel 1759; Colonel 1764. He commanded a Connecticut Regt. against Havana, in 1762, and fought with Bradstreet against the Indians, in 1764. In 1775, he fought on the American side, and became a Major-General in the national army in that year. He died in 1790.

## 160 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

on the East side of the Lake brought back a French gun case of an officer, who I suppose comes from their Shipping to try to see what we are about, and popped upon the two fools of Prideaux's Regt who were out of all bounds and without Arms.

23rd. I sent 100 Batteaus with 600 men under the command of Major Holmes to Ticonderoga for Provisions, reconnoitred the intended new fence, which will do very well. In the afternoon a boat coming in with a blue flag, the signal I had ordered for any appearance of an Inferior number of the Enemy, which the Capt of Gages was to make. I saw four boats following this whale boat so guessed it could be nothing but Capt Tute, as Gages Capt with the English boat still remained out. It proved exactly so, Capt Tute arrived, the Indians firing & making the yell of having Scalps and a very great noise for a very little they have done. Capt Tute lay opposite to the Enemy's Sloops some time but nobody came on shore; he then crossed to the east side & finding a canoo with some things left with it, knew a Scouting Party must be out & so resolved to wait for them. His Party of 40 men behaved ill or they should have taken the six Enemy Indians, three French men & two men of Prideaux's, instead of killing one Indian; one of Prideaux's escaped & joined him. They supposed they wounded two more Indians, and our own Rangers firing at they knew not what, wounded two of their Comrades, a pretty opportunity lost of taking all that Scouting Party. The luck of finding the canoo waiting for them, and attacking them properly (if it had been executed); could not have failed of taking the whole and there was no Risk.

24th. Capt Abercromby returned in the Afternoon with his Party from reconnoitring the upper part of the Hudson River which he took to be about 12 miles from Crown Point.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 161

He went to a very large bare Rock, which on seeing from hence appeared something like a vast water fall, but it proved a bare Rock a vast Height & about 100 yards in breadth & very steep with a great number of trees at the Bottom, all blown down & laying in a great heap, so that probably this has happened from thunder & lightning & the weight of the part broke off at the top has swept the whole face of the Rock bare to the Bottom. He saw several veins of Copper ore in the Rock. Brought several crawfish he took out of a brook, more like the Crawfish in England than any fish I have seen here.

Capt Johnson returned with his Party from exploring the Otter River. He found eight falls instead of three and mostly very bad ones; the sides of the River for the most part very swampy, and he says the most impracticable impassible River that he ever saw. This is the River than many People have run away with the notion that would have been the Route for the war to have been carried on, & talk of it as if they knew it, when they are totally ignorant of every part of it. I ordered three Forts to be built here.

25th. I sent Lt Moncrief to Ticonderoga to see how everything is going on there and to try if possible to get some more Artificers from thence if it can be done without retarding the works there. I ordered another Road for the Cattle to be drove to the first Grass fields, turned all the wounded oxen to Grass where they will recover soon.

26th. I sent Capt Tute of the Rangers with nine men and a man of Gages to go down about half way the Lake, and to go up the Riviere de Sable, steering a west course as far as they could and then to lay the whale boat up & proceed by land to Swegatchi to make what discoveries he could & send two or three men off to Brig Gen Gage at Oswego, in case none of the English

## 162 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

troops are arrived at Swegatchi. They took Provisions for 25 days, Mr. Swetenham went with them.

I received a Letter from the Lt Governour of New York that he had sent 200 of the French Prisoners to the care of Governor Bernard in the New Jerseys, 200 to Gov Fitch at Connecticut, 100 on Long Island & the rest in the Barracks, and the 22 sent from Ticonderoga gone to New town. The Lt Governor had taken the Officers Paroles. By a Letter to Capt Abercromby, the French Lieut, a commissary, a sergt & two Private men taken at No 1 near Fort Edward proved to be the Deserters from Capt Grant when at Fort Hunter. I had suspected it and ordered they should be close confined. Lt Moncrief returned from Ticonderoga where everything was going on well. Lt Col Ingersol got about half way with the Road.

27th. The three little Forts I had ordered to be erected by the Grenadiers, light Infantry and Gages are getting on very well. I received a Letter from Col Montresor that the Post near Fort Edward had taken four more French Deserters who had been out sixteen days . . .

29th. I had a letter from Col Bradstreet that 64 men of the Company of 80 that I had ordered from Number 4 had deserted six miles from Albany; the Captain gone to Governor Pownal about them. A Subaltern & 16 men only remained; 2 Subalterns gone after the men. I received a Letter from Br Gen Stanwix from Fort Bedford 14th August from whence Major Tullikens set out the 5th with 300 men for Pittsburgh from thence to proceed with 400 with Col Miner to take Post at Venango; that Capt Jocelyn who sat out with a Convoy on the 30th July was attacked near Laurel Hill and after repulsing the Enemy killing two Indians they found, & supposed seven or eight more. He was unfortunately at the later end shot through the body, we had three men & six horses killed, two

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 163

men of Col Montgomerys Regt taken off from Pittsburgh by some Indians who had been treated as Friends and been eating the Provisions. Tis just like the Scoundrels.

30th. I wrote to Admiral Saunders, M Gen Wolfe & Br Whitmore; sent Ensign Wallace to Louisburg. The Radeau building for the 24 Pounders. The Brig is soon to be ready; till then it is not in my power to attempt to take or force away the four Vessels of the Enemy on the Lake.

31st. Three Rangers deserted last night. Four Rangers who had been with Sergt Hopkins came back with an account that the Lt. was going to be attacked and that Lt Fletcher was certainly attacked & must have lost several men.

### *September:*

1st. Sergeant Hopkins returned from his Scout and brought in three men of La Marine, that he took opposite to the Island, whose intelligence agrees with what I have had before. All the troops that went from Ticonderoga & this Place are there, besides some Canadians who were working at the Batteries & Lines on the Island. When the Garrisons got down there their situation is very strong, & the deserters say they have a hundred Cannon. That cant be, but they have certainly got together all they could from different corners, and I suppose some from the Ships that got up the River before Mr Durell, for before that they wanted Guns. If those Ships had not got up Canada at this instant would probably be ours, as it would have given a General Despair.

Captain McKenzie returned from a Scouting Party & thought two Rangers & a man of Gages had deserted him, as he lost them in the woods.

2nd. As the French deserters and the Sergeants account of a new Sloop agreed that it is launched, pierced for 16 Guns,

## 164 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

& finishing as fast as possible, I ordered Major Ord to prepare some fire darts to screw in, and I'll send to try & burn it. The Enemy is trying to have a superior Force by water. I sent to Capt. Loring to come to me that I may build a Sloop as soon as the Brig is finished and that everything may be prepared as fast as possible.

Lt Col Ingersol with the first Batt. of Ruggles marched into the Plain and encamped about three miles from this; to which Place he is continuing the Road. I had a Letter from Col Willard that he had found five canoos about three miles up Lake George from the Landing Place. This accounts for what some of the Deserters or Prisoners had told us, which indeed I thought they had made (up), that 80 Indians sat out in five Canoos for Lake George some days before we arrived at Ticonderoga, & they had not heard anything of them since. I suppose they, on finding themselves cut off, went across the Country and perhaps to joyn Sr Wm Johnson

3rd. Capt Loring came here. I settled with him to build a Sloop of 16 Guns. Some Irons of the Sawmill broke which I ordered to be repaired. The Guns I sent for from Fort Edward arrived at the landing Place. I sent rafts for them.

4th. It rained the whole day that no work could be done. I sent out Sergt Hopkins with 4 Rangers, two volunteers, an officer of Ruggles & one of Whitings, and four men who had been Sailors & the best swimmers I could find to take five darts & hand-carcasses & to try to burn the Sloop at Isle au Noix. Had two burnt, one fire dart & one carcass to show them how it should be done. A man of Ruggles's came in who was left with Lt Fletcher's whale boat. He says some Indians came on him and another man who was left with the boat; took the other and he made his escape. At night an Indian came in from Lt Fletchers

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 165

Party, said the Lieut was attacked by a great number, and that he escaped; thinks the Lt and others taken. The French Prisoners declare one man was taken at the boat & brought on the Island; the other who was left with the boat is come here last night, and two men from the Lieut when he was surrounded, so that he can have but five men left with him.

5th. I sent a party of 25 men ten miles down on the West side of the Lake in boats with Gages light Infantry (to) come back by Land & see if they could find any tracks. Lt Small returned last night from Oswego from conducting the New Hampshire Regt; he marched from Fort Stanwix with 100 Oxen to Oswego in five days so there can be no great difficulty in making a good Road. By the information of the French Prisoners, we dug in the Fort and found some Kettles, tools &c.

6th. I sent a Scouting Party on the west to try to track the three People that the man of Ruggles reported he had seen the Tracks going down the Lake. Wrote Col Montresor to forward some tools &c demanded for Oswego. Capt Gray returned at night; said he had spied out three boats at the Narrows, just as he was coming back; that he lowered his sail to wait for them but they stoped or, rather, seemed to go over to the Eastern Shore. I suppose a scalping Party, as they appeared just at night. I ordered the Guards on the batteaus to be particularly watchful, our Deserters of which they have two from Gages & one from the Inniskilling (who probably robbed Capt Williams) may have told them they can burn our boats. I ordered two boats with three Pounders, a Canoo of Indians, a whale boat of Rangers, 24 men & a Sub. of light Infantry in two whale boats to go early under the comand of the Capt. of Gages with the daily Guard of 60 men of that Regt; to march a body down the Eastern side of the Lake & come

## 166 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

back on the West. If the Enemy land any People & draw up a boat they must find it.

7th. The Party in boats went out; nothing to be seen of the Enemy. I directed Major Ord to make a number of hand carcasses loaded with hand Grenades, which may be of service if I should have an opportunity at trying to surprise Montreal. I ordered Petards likewise to be prepared.

8th. . . . I had an Express from Governor Pownal with intelligence of a Master of a Ship who came from Orleans the 16th of August and talks of fortifying the Isle of Coudres leaving a Garrison there for the winter and a fleet at Gaspee. This will frighten and throw into despair all New England, but I flatter myself notwithstanding the Masters news Mr Wolfe will take Quebec.

I had a Letter from Col Montresor in answer to my questions about his works, that he had raised 72960 cubical feet, that to finish the Fort will take 4,94100 cubical feet and two more working Seasons to do it. I would not hesitate a moment about bringing the workmen to this Place and ordered him to shut up the Citadel Bastion by a retrenchment at the Gorge, that it will then be a small Fort of itself which with the one by the Lake side will be sufficient, as that Post is no longer a Frontier, and the Fort may be finished hereafter.

9th. Capt Starks returned with his Party from No 4; fourteen of his men deserted, six left sick behind. He said he had made the Road & that there were no mountains or swamps to pass & as he came back it measured 77 miles. It may be much shortened. I brought in all the wood I could against winter for the Garrison; 80 Oxen from Albany, fresh Provisions now & then and a constant supply of Spruce beer kept the Army in good health & they work well which helps much towards the

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 167

health of the Provincials, who if left to themselves would eat fried Pork and lay in their tents all day long.

10th. I rowed round the bay on the west of the Fort and to the ends of the Roads that are terminated by the bay. At my return I found a Flag of Truce was come from Mons Burlemaque by a Capt of La Reine whom Capt Osborne who was out with the Guard boat had stoped 9 miles off & sent me the Letters. One from Mons Montcalm of no date, acquainting me that Capt Kennedy and Hamilton were Prisoners & talking of the Exchange of Prisoners, an Excuse to send to see what we are about and to send several Letters to their officers who are Prisoners; a Letter from Bougainville to Capt Abercromby dated the 30th August at Quebec so that the Town was not taken then. I answered the Letters & sent Capt Abercromby to the officer with them sending at the same time a large Packet from the Prisoner officers to their Relations, &c. At night I had an Express from Boston that Capt Shomberg was arrived there; had not brought any Letter for me. The Hearsay of the Master, who reported it to the Governor on which he sent to me, Capt Shomberg said was without foundation so they'll now grow bold again at Boston. By the Flag of Truce I had a Letter from Lt Fletcher of the Rangers taken with three men between St Johns & Montreal & conducted to the last Place; he had three men killed. The whole were surrounded by 70 Indians. I believe they behaved well.

11th. Twas morning before Capt Abercromby got back. Capt Disserat of the Regt de la Reine who came with the Flag of Truce said Kennedy was taken by some of the St Francois Indians who were hunting. I had a Letter from New York of the Arrival of the Garland Man of War on the 4th £40.000. The Lt Governor wrote me word he had sent me 12 eighteen-Pounders & 8 twelve-Pounders.

## 168 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

12th. As Capt Kennedy's Journey was now over I ordered a detachment of 220 chosen men under the command of Major Rogers to go & destroy the St Francois<sup>129</sup> Indian Settlements and the French settlements on the South side of the River St Lawrence, not letting any one but Major Rogers know what about or where he was going. I received a Letter from Br Gen Stanwix from Fort Ligonier the 23rd August. Very great backwardness in everything that should be going on there.

13th. I sent Capt. Abercromby to Ticonderoga to try to get any masons that could be spared from thence and the Landing Place as likewise to quicken up Capt Loring in preparing his Affairs, & if possible to get sails for the boats that carry Guns that I may effectually attack and demolish the Enemy's Craft. Sent 30 batteaus to Ticonderoga for Provisions. Major Rogers set out with his Party . . . Gov. Glen took his leave of the field and set out for New York. I ordered a Party to explore more of the Hudson River.

14th. Sergt Hopkins with his Party came this morning. He attempted to burn the Vessel, the 11th, at ten at night. Had got the combustibles to the bow & one man was screwing a dart in while another was preparing another, but I suppose they made a noise for a man on board discovered them and alarmed the Guard on board & the whole Camp. They threw something overboard, fired & the Guards of the Camp fired. The men got off and were not hurt but left the combustibles at the bow and lost two Blanketts. If they had more punctually obeyed my orders and done it at two in the morning they probably had succeeded.

129 ST. FRANCIS: A small Indian village on the river of this name, a short distance above its junction with the St. Lawrence. In 1759, it consisted of 40 wigwams, and a small Catholic Church in charge of a French priest. The natives were mostly descendants of Abenakis who had been brought from the region now known as Maine, in the latter part of the 17th century.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 169

Capt Abercromby came back. Ticonderoga will soon be finished but the Saw mill is often out of repair. I sent a Lieut to Fort George to bring all the masons from thence than can be spared as Lt Col Eyre says he can now employ them. One Indian came back sick from M Roger's Party.

15th. I had a Letter from the Lt Governor of New York in answer to mine demanding the Troops to be paid for the month of November, as I thought the Service might require their help a little longer than the first of that month, but the Lt Governors answer gives me hopes; says the Assembly will refuse it. A party I had sent to explore the Riviere de la barbe report it a very fine country on both sides the River; Ensign Wilson of the Rangers went up to the source of it, which is a Lake and, with the windings the River takes, is, he judges, 19 miles.

16th. I sent to have the Point of Land & Country on the other side of the Lake explored. Capt Abercromby went with 40 men, returned at night & says it is almost an Island; may easily be made one, & there is a Swamp the whole way to that little rock of Land. It is not worth while for the Garrison to weaken itself by taking Post there, and it shall be made more difficult, by opening the neck of Land, for the Enemy to come there.

Lt Pickering & 30 Masons arrived from Fort George to help on with the work here tho' my orders at first were positive to Lt Col Eyre to trace out such a work as could undoubtedly be finished. I fear he has overdone it & he was not to depend on having a man from Fort George or any other help which have been given him. Instead of 80 Oxen which were thought necessary there are now 140.

17th . . . At night Capt Smith's Company that had eloped from Albany came from No 4 to the opposite Shore where I

## 170 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

ordered them to stay all night as the weather was so bad. The Captain said there was a mistake in the Enlistment of the men or they had not gone off.

18th. Five men of Capt Tutes Party who went from here the 26th August returned with a Letter from Capt Tute of the 12th acquainting me he could get but 8 miles up the Riviere de Sable with his boat; got about 100 miles by Land & hoped soon to reach Swegatchi; sent back the men as he should want Provisions; the weather had been extremely bad. At night Capt Butterfield of the Provincials who went with Major Rogers returned to the opposite Shore with seven men who were taken ill. He left Major Rogers the 15th in Otter River waiting for a dark night or an opportunity to pass the two french Sloops & a Schooner which were laying off the Otter River; they sailed toward Crown Point. At night Capt Williams who was taken very ill returned with two men of the Royal, 2 Gages, 3 Rangers, 2 Provincials & 13 Indians. Received a Letter from Br Gage; had given over La Gallette.

19th. A man of the Royal Highlanders and one of Montgomerys were brought in by seven Rangers, this makes 40 men returned of Rogers, two officers included, the two men wounded by a firelock accidentally going off. The Royal Highlander dyed soon after he was brought in. I received a Letter from Br Whitmore of the 27th of August enclosing to me a Copy of a Letter he had received from M(aj) (Gen) Wolfe of the 11th August, whereby it seems as if M(aj) Gen Wolfe was in some doubt of taking Quebec, but would destroy everything & take Post on the Isle of Coudres, he had heard nothing of me at the time he wrote. Yesterday I was informed the Sawmill was all set to rights and M(aj) Gen Lyman had contrived it to supply Capt Loring and Lt Brehme with all the planks and

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 171

boards wanted to their departments by supplying them day about, and that everything would go on well. To day I hear the Crank is broke for a second time and all is at a stop; this retards everything most terribly as this mill must supply every board that is wanted. Last night had the comanding officers of the Regular Regts together to order them to send for flannel waistcoats, Leggins, & socks for the men as our Quarters will be more northerly than they have been & probably we may stay some time longer in the Field.

20th. The weather beginning to be cold. The fence and blockhouses forwarding apace by which all the Cattle will be kept secure, and it will be next to impossible for any small partys to creep in to pick off any men; the Barracks begun in the Fort.

21st. I answered Br Gages Letter I received the 18th, with great concern that he had given up la Gallette which the Enemy could not have hindered him from taking and which he had my positive orders for doing; he may not have such an opportunity as long as he lives. I ordered it because I knew the situation of the Enemy was such that it could not fail. They have found out difficulties where there are none, and must have given them more difficulty than the taking la Gallette would have done; it is now too late to remedy this. He could have gone the 6th of this month.

22nd. I spoke to the comanding officers of Regts to talk to their officers that they might keep their men at work to their Business, as we must finish before winter Quarters. The Provincials begin to grow sickly and lose some men; they are growing homesick but much less so than ever they have been any other Campaigns. They want Cloaks to keep them warm & some regulations that would not cost the Province so much as their

## 172 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

extravagant Enlistments, and would save many men. The numbers at work every day are 3241 men, Labourers & Artificers. This should make quick dispatch but the work is great; and at the same time the works are carrying on at Fort George & the Repairs at Ticonderoga which are all most finished and the two Vessels building for which three Regiments are employed at Ticonderoga.

23rd. I wrote to Br Ruggles & M. Gen Lyman that as the Road was made to No 4 I would willingly send their Troops to their Winter Quarters the shortest Route. If they approved of it I would provide Provisions accordingly sending their Baggage & sick by water to Albany. I had a Letter from Br Ruggles who approved of going by No 4. At night Lt Moncrief who I sent to Ticonderoga brought me a Letter from Capt Loring in answer to what I wrote him about Guns for his Vessels, & he says the Mill is now again repaired one saw going and he hopes the other will go in a day, and that in eight days he will have his Vessels ready, if the Mill dont break again we shall yet do well. Sent thirty batteaus to Ticonderoga for Provisions.

## VI

September 24, 1759, to May 28, 1760

This Section continues the details of all the duties and interests of the Commander-in-Chief while preparing for an advance by the Lake to Canada, the embarkation on Oct. 11, the attack on the enemy's vessels, the difficulties encountered, the abandonment of the expedition, and the return to Crown Point; arrangements for the winter, and departure of Amherst for New York in December. Next, follow the details of the expedition destined to attack Montreal, including Amherst's departure for Albany on May 2nd, 1760, movements of the troops to Oswego.

1759

### *September:*

24th. I had the Indians mustered by Major Gordon—a most idle worthless sett & if their Capts were not taken Prisoners I should send them all to their homes. If I send them on a Scout they all come back in twelve Hours sick, & here they will do nothing but eat and drink, except forced to it. Capt Gordon returned with twenty nine batteau loads of Provisions, the 30th was so leaky they could not bring it away.

25th. I had a letter from Gen Lyman; another little accident had happened to the mill but was repaired. Eight Mohawk Indians arrived. By Letters from Boston Gen Wolfe had on the 11th August increased his batterys on Point Levi, & the ships with Admiral Holmes 30 miles above the town. Some fat Oxen arrived from the Army by No 4 in much better order than any that have come by the Lakes. I turned them to Grass on the opposite side; sent a Guard of 20 men to secure them.

## 174 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

26th. The Lake is risen surprisingly, full three feet perpendicular; forced us to move the Magazine for provisions, the Shot, Shells &c which were on the Shore. This may be occasioned from the Pickets which the Enemy has drove in across both Channels by the Isle au Noix . . .

27th. I sent to Ticonderoga for provisions that I may be ready to move with all the men to be spared so soon as the Brig & Sloop can come here. The Army healthy. Constant work helps them so. Too many of the Provincials fell sick; they begin to be home sick, but I let none go at this time. Last year they went off by dozens from the Provincial Regts. A man of Capt Smith's Company, which is just a few days arrived from No 4, came to me to desire he might go home for it begins to grow very cold.

28th. I sent an Aid de Camp to Ticonderoga to see how things are going on there. The Provisions arrived; the Capt was obliged to leave four batteaus behind they were so leaky.

Lt Col Putnam sent a part of his party to cut some timber on the opposite Isthmus.

29th. Lt Moncrief returned from Ticonderoga; had fixed with Capt Loring that he should carry all the provisions he conveniently could in the Brig & Sloop. Capt Loring promised to have them ready next week. In the Afternoon the Radeau was Launched & christened *Ligonier*. She is 84 feet long & 20 feet broad on the Platform, where the Guns run out she is 23 feet, & to carry six 24-Pounders . . .

30th. I was forced to condemn a great deall of Biscuit which has been spoiled by the wet; it will help feed the horses . . . I sent the Mohawks out on a hunting party. They came back last night & to day they chuse to return home. They say Sr Wm Johnson lets them do what they will & dont like to be ruled as

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 175

I order them, they seem to be like the rest drunken & idle. A Letter from Lt Col Miller; the Crank of the Mill again broke, but the other wheel going.

### *October:*

1st. I sent Lt Col Robertson to Ticonderoga to put the proper proportion of Provisions on board the Brig & Sloop & to settle some other matters. I tryed a Petard of 56 pound weight with 5 pounds of Powder against a large dead oak; it broke it.

2nd. Lt Col Robertson came back from Ticonderoga. Capt Loring cant be ready till the beginning of next week instead of this week as he had promised me. I received a Letter from Boston with the account of P. Ferdinand's Victory on the 1st August. Lt Darcey of the Rangers brought me the Draft he had taken of South Bay, Wood Creek, Fort Anne, &c. The Barracks in the Fort going on but slowly; the foundations were laid the 20th Sept & not yet got to the windows.

3rd. Lt Martin returned from exploring the upper parts of the Hudson River. Lt McMullin came in with six men from Major Roger's Party whom he left nine days since, he imagines, about forty miles beyond Mischiscove Bay. The Lt had lamed himself so Major Rogers had to send him back and intended to pursue the orders I had given him and thought of returning by No 4.

4th. Sent Lt Stevens to No 4 to take up some provisions to Wells's River, in case Major Rogers should return that way. Ordered a quantity of bread to be baked at Ticonderoga as soon as the flower arrives there that I may take a weeks bread with me, but I hear Capt Loring will not be ready as soon as he last promised. The contrary winds have hindered the floats of timber from getting here which has a little retarded the works.

## 176 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

5th. Two of the block houses got up for the security of the Environs. As the numbers of the Sick of the Provincials increased and several will not be fit for further Service this Campaign, I ordered them to be visited by the Director & a Surgeon of the Hospital, that the useless may be sent home. Capt Dalzel<sup>130</sup> who was out in the Guard boat brought in a canoe that a Sergt of his had spied out on the shore about eight miles down the Lake. As this may be likely a small Party to go to the mountains to try to see what is doing here & likewise to spy out what preparations are making at Ticonderoga I ordered a Party of 25 men to way lay them.

6th. The Party went down the Lake to the Place where the Canoe was found. The Lt was sure the Canoe must have laid there at least a month by the bows, &c., that were found broke about it, so it was in vain to wait there. I suppose this Party retreated in a hurry when the Indians came back yelling, with a Scalp & a man of Prideaux's, as the Enemy would probably send a small Party at the same time on the West side. The Rangers thought they saw some on the 20th Aug.

7th. Repairing & caulking the batteaus & whale boats. An officer & 52 men of Babcocks<sup>131</sup> arrived from Fort George. I sent 400 of the Provincials with a dozen of their officers to the Hospital at Albany as they were incapable of any further Service this Campaign. I ordered Woosters Regt & 200 men of

130 CAPTAIN DALYELL (OR DALZIELL): James Dalyell was at first a Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment, and, afterward, a Captain in the 2nd Battalion of the Royals, or 1st Regiment, of Foot. He was killed attacking a force of Indians near Detroit in 1763.

131 COL. HENRY BABCOCK: Born in Rhode Island, 1736. Captain, 1754; Major 1756; Lieut.-Col., 1757; Colonel of a Rhode Island Regt. which fought at Ticonderoga, 1758. Next year under Amherst. Died, 1800.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 177

Willards<sup>132</sup> from Ticonderoga to joyn the Army here that when I go from hence the works may still be carrying on as I shall not take any Artificer away & the Provincials must do the work of Labourers every day till I return . . .

8th. I sent to day 170 Grenadiers & light Infantry with 40 Batteaus to bring Col Worcesters Regt & 200 men of Willards to this place, who were to load the Batteaus with provisions. The Grenadiers & light Infantry returned by land. I sent Lt Col Robertson to settle the provision matters that nothing may be wanting . . . Capt Loring will be here to morrow or Wednesday . . . Col. Worcesters Regt arrived in the night.

9th. Sent out two Scouts. A Sergt & 6 men to go to the windmill & so on the East side of Isle au Noix; & a Sergt and six men to point au Fer to go on the West side towards St Johns. Both the Sergts to try all they can to get me a Prisoner for Intelligence as I can have none but from thence, & the Sergts to meet me on the Lake. I likewise sent Lt Meredith of Gages with six men of that Regt to go to the Choty River, five or six miles on this side the Point au Fer, to try to find out a carrying Place which has been made use of between that Place and Chautauguay of about 4 miles. The Enemy can have no suspicion of anyone being sent there; besides their Indians must be sent after Rogers. If this carrying Place is found out I may be sure when I make a shew of attacking the Isle au Noix that I can send a Party to destroy Casnewaga,<sup>133</sup> and very probably

132 Abijah Willard commanded a Massachusetts regiment in this campaign. He was born in Lancaster, Mass., in 1724. Fought at Louisbourg, 1745. Captain in Monckton's army which captured Fort Beauséjour in 1755. After the conquest of Canada he settled on his property. In the Revolutionary War he was faithful to the British. Settled near Saint John, N.B., where he died in 1789.

133 Wrong spelling for Caughnawaga, an Indian village on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, nearly opposite Montreal.

## 178 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

may surprise Montreal. I was forced to work the fat Oxen to keep on the works; near 300 Oxen employed . . .

200 men of Willards Regt arrived for the Service of the boats of the Artillery. Woosters Regt must help carry on the works & I shall not take an Artificer of the Regulars away, & leave all the Provincials except 200 for the labour. Major Ord tryed the Radeau against the wind; she would not do very well. I hope the Brig & Sloop will be here to morrow.

At eleven at night Ensign Hutchings whom I had sent to Gen Wolfe arrived with Capt Stobo. Gen Wolfe dispatched them the seventh of Sept at ten at night from point Levi. They got out of the River St Lawrence in four days and unfortunately were taken 12 leagues off Halifax by a Pirate who boarded the Sloop they were in & took everything from them. The Pirate had 50 hands only, 4 Swivels, fitted out from Miramichi; had taken five Vessels; put most of the provisions on board a Schooner & they got to Halifax. Capt Stobo threw all his dispatches overboard so I am not a whit the wiser, except that he says Gen Wolfe had got with allmost his whole Army above the Town & he thinks he will not take it. Capt Stobo was taken the 29th Sept, came by Boston from Halifax.

10th. The Q Masters having brought the flannel &c to the landing place I sent batteaus from each Regt. to bring it up. The Duke of Cumberland Brig arrived and anchored out of sight of any partys that may be on the mountains. I kept the men working all day at the Fort but had everything ready to set out so soon as the Sloop comes. Capt Loring seems to think he will not be strong enough with the Brig & Sloop, but he shall try to cut the Enemy off from Isle au Noix which is the only sure way of taking them, & if I send Guns in boats with him he will wait to get them up & the Enemys Vessels will escape.

11th. The Sloop arrived & the Q Masters and Detachment I had sent to bring the things from the Landing place. I ordered all the Stores that were wanted on board the Sloop & the Troops to embark that I may get away the first instant I can, called the commanding officers of the Provincials to recommend the running of the works under Lt Col Eyre with all the help they could give him, and I left the command of the Troops to Br Gen Ruggles . . . Capt Schomberg<sup>134</sup> arrived. He heard I wanted an officer to fight the Sloops, but Loring very wisely did not chuse to give up the command & I would not order him to as Schomberg has come without orders & has left his Ship which is to convey all the Masts, which may be of great consequence. The Duke of Cumberland Brigg & Boscawen Sloop I think must have force enough to beat the Enemys Sloops. I gave all necessary orders toward it & got ammunition on board the Sloop & ordered the Troops to strike their Tents, load their Batteaus that I might proceed directly. We sailed in four Columns with Gages for the Advanced (Guard). The 1st Column Grenadiers & light Infantry; 2nd Column the Brigade of the Royal; 3rd Column all the Artillery Stores; 4th Column the Brigade of Forbes; the Rangers & Indians forming the Rear Guard in a line to cover the Rear of the Column as Gages did the Front.

The Artillery was divided, Ligonier Radeau Center in the Front of the Center Columns; 1 Howitzer in the Front of the 2nd and another in Front of the 3rd Columns; a 12-Pounder in Front of the 1st & another in front of the 4th Column; a third 12-Pounder brought up the rear of the whole.

The boats for the Heads of Columns got out at two o'clock and the Columns formed. The Sloop & Brigg got out about 4 o'clock & sailed with a fair wind. I kept rowing gently all

## 180 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

night having a light at the Radeau for the Columns to dress by it, but in the night some of the R Highlanders mistook & followed a light that they saw either on the Brig or Sloop and at day break

12th. I heard some Guns; concluded our Vessels were engaged with the Enemy & Major Gladwin sent to me to let me know they were. I made all the sail with the Radeau I could, and some time after a boat of the R Highlanders came back who informed me of the mistake that had happened & that the firing was on them as they went to the Sloops, taking them to be our own, & Lt Mackay a sergt & 10 men were taken, & the Enemy after taking the men out set the batteau adrift, & Major Reid said our Brig & Sloop were certainly got a great way beyond the Enemys. Soon after we saw the Enemys Sloops, I ordered the Batteaus into one Column on the Western Shore & the Artillery boats all a Breast, & Major Gladwin to keep a watch upon them. Towards night it grew bad weather and the men being fatigued with rowing all night I took Col Schuylers advice & got into a bay to be covered from the wind & it blew very hard. Ordered the men on shore to boil their pots & rest themselves by walking about. In the night a man in a dream cryed out murder & another in his sleep fired his piece & burnt a Sergt of Grenadiers very much.

13th. It blew a quite contrary wind & storm continued all day; tho' I was in a bay I was forced to move several of the boats.

14th. At noon I had a letter from Capt Loring that on the 12th at day break at which time he imagined he might be 45 miles down the Lake the Schooner with two topsails appeared coming toward him and he immediately gave chase. She hauled her wind & stood in between two Islands & unfortunately

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 181

run aground just as he was within gunshot & soon after the Sloop had the same fate. The Sloop was got off without taking anything out, but they were forced to take out 8 Guns & all the Troops out of the Brig when she was got off likewise without any damage. He then stood off to proceed down the Lake but the wind came to the Norward and he at that instant discovered the three sloops between him & the Army, so gave chase to bring them to action before night & drove them into a bay & anchored at the mouth in order to prevent their getting out. At night I received another Letter from Capt Loring that the Enemy had sunk two of their Vessels in the bay & run the third on Shore & that he had ordered Capt Grant to try to save all the Guns, rigging stores &c.

It continued to blow such a storm that the men who brought me the Letter said 'twas impossible for them to get back against it. The Water run as high as some seas in a Gale of wind. I could not send a boat to the Rangers or to Gages light Infantry. I sent out two Partys of 20 men to reconnoitre round about; the Pickets lay out advanced & the men made some Hutts pitched some Tents & made great fires.

15th. It has blown a storm with rain all night and the continuance of it renders the Lake much agitated so that it is impracticable to pass at present, but I hope it will change soon.

16th. It froze in the night and this morning the wind blows as hard as ever and has continued all day. This would be nothing if it was a month earlier, but every day is a great loss of time at present when I cant stir from hence. In the evening Capt Arnot of Gages brought back a Party of 20 men & an officer that I had sent by Land to the Regt to see if it was practicable for them to send for their Provisions by Land. Ensign Campbell found it more than 20 miles & Major Gladwin sent

## 182 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

me word if the wind continued so contrary that no boats could go to him he would bring the Regiment here.

17th. The same contrary wind continued and it froze though it does not blow so hard. In the afternoon the two whale boats I dispatched to Capt Loring on the 13th returned, said they had tryed since that day all they could to get down but could not & were glad to get back without being drowned. Gages Regt came in. I sent out a Party every day round the Camp at some distance tho' it is impossible the Enemy can attempt anything here.

18th. Before day break I had a boat from Crown Point with Letters from Br Gen Gage from Oswego with Intelligence of three Prisoners taken near la Gallette, that Quebec was taken on the 13th of Sept, & an Hour after I had a Letter from the Lt Governor of New York confirming the news & acquainting him of the loss of General Wolfe. This will of course bring Mons de Vaudreuil & the whole Army to Montreal so that I shall decline my intended operations & get back to Crown Point where I hear works go on but slowly. One of the Enemys Sloops was so far repaired of all the damage done to her that she sailed this day down the Lake with the Brig & Sloop . . . I sent Capt Dalyel with 100 of Gages and as many Rangers to Capt Loring to assist in looking into any of the bays for him, that the Schooner may not escape and the wind being come to Southward I proceeded down the Lake to the Place where the French Sloops were sunk which I suppose may be 45 miles from Crown Point, landed the Troops on an Island at night made Fires & boiled the pot.

19th. The wind being northerly, and an appearance of winter set in, and that it would take me perhaps ten days more to get to the Isle au Noix, which will now answer no End to make a shew of attacking, as my intention of sending a Detachment to

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 183

destroy Cosnawaga, La Prairie and surprise Montreal can no longer be executed. I ordered the Troops back to Crown Point to finish the works there as much as possible before we go into Winter Quarters, and we sailed & rowed back to Ligonier bay where we lay all night.

20th. I left the Radeau with the Rangers & proceeded with the Troops for Crown Point; ordered the light Infantry & Grenadiers who were in the whale boats to row on that they might reach it by night & I stoped with the two brigades & artillery Stores about 12 miles from Crown Point & lay on the Eastern Shore.

21st. I set out again in the morning & arrived at Crown Point about two in the afternoon. The Grenadiers & light Infantry were at work at their Forts, and the Fortress was going on pretty well. I ordered 900 Labourers of the Regulars for the rest day.

22nd. I dispatched my Letters for England. An officer of Woosters Regt killed by some of the men firing at a mark in the wood contrary to orders.

23rd. I sent Lt Moncrief to Br Gen Gage at Oswego with orders about quartering the Troops this winter. Letters from Boston gave an account of Admiral Boscawen's having gained a Victory<sup>135</sup> at Sea & destroyed the greatest part of the French Fleet. Yesterday five men of Sergt Burbank & Sergt Rosier Partys came in with a Letter from the Sergt that he had fallen in with a number of the Enemys boats by the Point au Fer & that they kept up a great hammering & noise; had discovered him and pursued him. I found this was the Sloops when the

135 Boscawen's squadron attacked that of M. de la Clue off the south coast of Portugal on August 18, 1759, defeating it with great loss.

## 184 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Enemy was abandoning of them & the Sergts mistook where they were. To day the Radeau & other boats arrived with Rangers. Capt Dalyel came in the evening. He had been with the Brig at the Isle La Motte & had reconnoitred to the Isle au Noix where the Schooner was got in by going round the Grand Isle. They fired one shot at them from the Island. In returning he picked up a man from the Shore, one of the crew of the Mascquerongy who had lost the Party and himself; said the crews were gone to the Isle au Noix. They will have concluded Capt Dalyel was with the advanced Guard & have expected the Army. At night Sergt Burbank & Rosier came in half starved with the bad weather and said the Lake was so rough & winds so high gave out & he could not get to the Isle au Noix. He sat out the 9th Inst. & I had sent boats to meet them where I appointed.

24th. I went round the Fortress & Forts. Very little done in the absence of the Regulars; the building the Barracks goes on very heavily. Capt Robertson of Montgomerys arrived with 52 men from Pittsburg . . . Ordered 1800 labourers for to morrow that I may do everything that is possible while the Season permits.

25th. I ordered about 100 sick to Fort Edward and Albany. Capt Brewer returned with the 100 Rangers I had sent with Capt Dalyel. He had been to look for M Rogers' boats; found them all burnt by the Enemy.

26th. I sent 250 men with proper Tools under command of Major Hawk to make the Road to No 4. Sent at the same time Lt Small with 30 men with Arms to give the Provincials papers from No 4 to their Homes & provisions or 4 pence per day for their march. The Brig, Sloop & french Prize arrived.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 185

I sent Lt Maine & 9 men of the Artillery to S Carolina to instruct the men there in the exercise of their Guns.

27th. I sent Lt Grant with the Boscawen Sloop & Lt Robertson with the Prize christened by Capt Loring the AMHERST with 200 men and all necessary for weighing the two french Sloops up. Sent Lt Wilson & Artificers to Ticonderoga to repair the Carriages, examine the Guns, make platforms & put everything in the best order.

28th. To save unnecessary expenses to the Government & our provisions I got rid of the Indians. Sent them to Albany to return to their own homes, 43 in number & as idle good for nothing a crew as ever was. We got timber up to the Fort by the men drawing it, which expedited it much better than with the Cattle.

29th. I sent to Major Hawke's Party to kill them some fresh provisions. As I had a Letter last night acquainting me of the Death of Lt Col Farquhar I thought I could not do better for the Service than to give the Lt Colonelcy to Lt Collyse & to send him to Niagara, and Eyres Lt Colcy in Prideaux's to Lt Col Robertson. I received a Letter from Br Stanwix by which I see he has given over any intentions he may have had of relieving the Garrison of Niagara, & as poor Farquhar is dead I cant too soon take care of it.

30th. Very cold weather & frost. The Barracks very slowly getting on . . . Lt Stevens who I had sent with Provisions to meet Mr Rogers returned. Said there was no probability he would ever come back that way, but he should have waited longer. I ordered the Provincials from Fort Edward & the Posts to joyn their Regts at Crown Point that they may go home by No 4.

31st. Very hard frost. The mortar would not work in the morning. We must make the best of it we can & complete as

## 186 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

much as I am able. Ordered a dram of rum to each man ; twas very necessary.

*November :*

1st.           The Frost is very hard. The men could not work in the morning. Some of the men of the Massachusetts & Jersey Troops mutinyed and would go home, but I marched out the Picquet and stoped them. Col Willard wrote me his had done the same at the landing place. I ordered the works to be closed in the most expeditious manner that is possible & the men to work from nine in the morning to four in the Afternoon.

2nd.           Ensign Hutchings came in from weighing the Vessels ; brought a Flag of Truce which he left about seven miles off. I sent Capt Abercromby to it. It was a Monsieur Cadillac, Capt in Berry. Brought me a Letter from Mons de Vaudreuil 20th Oct from Montreal and one from Mons Bourlamaque from the Isle au Noix. Mons de Vaudreuil proposed exchanging Prisoners which is just what I had demanded of Mons de Montcalm. Sent me no list but said there were 16 officers & 200 men & desired they might be sent & promised to send in exchange an equal number of the same Rank. A Letter from Lt Meredith of Gages that he was taken the 16th past as he was returning on the Lake to the Army. Mons de Cadillac said M Rogers Party had burnt the settlement at St. Francis, killed some Indians, women & children. I fancy he is mistaken about the women & children & that some Indians & Canadians had assembled & attacked M Rogers in his retreat at night. I heard that two Batteaus were laid between the Camp & Col Ingersols, supposed for some of the men to make their escape.

I ordered out a Party of the light Infantry with Major of Brigade Skeene to stop them. Some who were got into the boat would not return so he was obliged to fire at them & they

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 187

got to the other side of the Lake. I ordered a party of Rangers to go out at day break after them.

3rd. Lt Col Robertson returned from the Landing Place. Said Col Willards Batt were all run away that could go, that Gen Lyman had marched after them in hopes to force them back with his Regt. It is an unlucky thing when a little more time would finish all our works. These homesick people march off & hurt themselves ten times more than they would by staying, and put a stop to the service. The Officer of Rangers returned, brought back three men he had overtaken, one man was dangerously wounded last night & sent to the Camp of the Regt. Capt Abercromby who I sent last with my dispatches to Mons Cadillac returned this morning. I ordered a party of Rangers to escort the Flag of Truce clear of our Vessels. Mons Cadillac took a good deal of strong beer & told Abercromby, I believe, all he knew, that Mons de Bourlamaque was apprehensive of our trying to attack him by surrounding him when the Season would have permitted but thought himself strong enough in Front; that Mons Levy was at the Isle au Noix the day of the action at Quebec; Montcalm killed on horseback & Mr Wolfe at the head of two or three Companys of Grenadiers trying to dislodge the Enemy from the wood; the french all went off when they heard their General was killed . . .

5th. I sent the Artillery & Stores allotted for Fort George & Fort Edward. The Radeau arrived with Provisions from Ticonderoga. I had a Letter from Lt Small that he had taken 100 of Ruggles Deserters on the Road to No 4 with 16 men he had with him when he met them and was marching them to Camp. I ordered bread for eight days to be sent over the Lake for Major Hawke's Party, and an officer & 30 men to go over to take the Deserters from Lt Small. Ordered the comanding

## 188 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

officers of Regts to try to enlist from the Provincials with the leave of the Provincial Colonels which will save great expense in recruiting. 80 working Oxen arrived to day; too late now to make any use of them; I sent them back. Lt Gavit of Babcocks broke for defrauding the Publick.

6th. In the morning the 100 men of Ruggles arrived which I pardoned . . . Capt Abercromby arrived from the Landing place. All at a stand by Willards Regt running away:

7th. Frost & snow, but at nine the Masons worked & the Masonry is to be finished this night. Capt Ogden of Schuylers arrived from Mr Rogers Party bringing me a Letter from the Major of the 1st November from No 4 acquainting me that the 22nd day after his departure from Crown Point he got to the Village of St. Francis, reconnoitred it, attacked it next morning before sun rise. On the right, left, & center found all asleep; some tried to get off by water whom forty of his party demolished & drowned. About seven the Affair was over, the Houses burnt, & he killed about 200, took 20 women & children, 15 of which he let go, & brought away 2 Indian boys & 3 girls, & retook five English Prisoners. Capt Ogden was wounded & six men were slightly wounded, one Stockbridge Indian killed. He then consulted with his officers as he knew his boats were way laid & all determined to return by No 4. He marched the whole body together 8 days and then separated. One of his Partys was attacked two days after they separated & had seven men taken, but two got off again at night. He arrived at No 4 with Capt Ogden & one man on the 31st Oct and immediately sent away Provisions in Canoes to meet the others who were behind. In the Afternoon an Indian came in with a Scalp & some hours after he had been in Camp, Indian like, said he had left 16 of Mr Rogers party at the Otter River. I immediately sent away an officer of Rangers with three whale boats.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 189

8th. The officer of Rangers returned from the Otter River; brought in four Indians, two Rangers, a German woman who had been taken at the German Flats, two young Squaws, and a young Indian boy. They were loaded with wampum & fine things they took at St Francis. It froze hard but luckily no snow though visible on all the mountains round. Ordered all the baggage of the Provincials with a number more of sick men to Albany, with an officer & 20 men p Battn to take care of them, & Lt Col Whiting<sup>136</sup> in charge of the whole. I ordered likewise (9th) the sick of the Regulars to Albany. All the sick set out in the morning & in the Afternoon I sent above 200 Provincials over the Lake to go by No 4 as the Surgeon reported them well enough to go that route. I sent them under the command of Lt Col Smedley and as soon as the homesick were getting in the boats they were immediately half recovered. I ordered a Feu de Joye to morrow, being the Kings birth day. At night Capt Lee of Abercrombies arrived from Pittsburgh with a Letter from Br Stanwix of the 10th of Oct & the opinion of a Council of war about the relief of Niagara; that is over & has been so from the beginning.

10th. The men worked till 3 o'clock except the Grenadiers that I had out at one o'clock. Formed a Square and drank the Kings Health, the Prince of Wales & Royal Family, & Prosperity to his Majestys Dominions in America with a Volley to each, and at Gun firing the Army was under Arms. The three Forts fired seven Guns each folowed by a Volley from each Corps beginning by the Royal. The Fortress then fired 21

136 NATHANIEL WHITING: Born in Connecticut, 1724. Fought at Louisbourg, 1745, and made Lieut. in Pepperrill's Regt. In 1755, Lieut.-Col. in Connecticut Regt. in expedition against Crown Point. Fought near Lake George, and, when Col. Williams was killed, succeeded to command. In 1758, Colonel of the Regt. and was at Ticonderoga. In 1759-1760 served under Amherst.

## 190 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Guns & the Line fired a running fire from right to left beginning on the right of the Royal & ending with the left of the light Infantry. The Park of Artillery then fired 21 Guns, and on a Signal Gun from the Fort the whole Line made ready & presented & on a second Gun fired a General Volley ending with three Huzzas. I gave Rum & Beer to each Corps to drink the Kings Health. An officer of Rangers arrived from the Sloops; Lt Grant had got one up & baled the water out & thought he should weigh up the other. Had his men on the shore fired on by some Indians, sent I suppose from the Isle au Noix when the Flag of Truce went back, & killed & scalped a man of the Royal & wounded four. I ordered an Auction to sell the working Cattle that I may make the most of them.

11th. The Provincials have got home in their heads & will now do very little good. I hear they are deserting from every Post where I have been obliged to leave some & several ran away who had a good deal of money due to them. 'Twill be so much saved to the Publick. The Provincial Colonels desiring a Horse each to carry them home I gave them one of those belonging to the King to each of them.

12th. Babcocks Regt marched this morning, crossed the Lake & took five days Provisions to carry them to No 4. I ordered Woosters to march tomorrow.

13th. Woosters Regt marched; they all gave up their Tents, Arms, & Cartridge Boxes that they have received. As to their bayonets they have lost most of them. I sent Lt Col Robertson to the Landing place to see how provision is coming in that I may leave this Garrison & Ticonderoga well supplied. Ordered Whittings Artificers to be paid off, that the Regt may march to morrow.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 191

14th.       Whittings marched in the morning. The weather proved favorable for us, or we should be in a bad way, for the Barrack is not yet covered. The last chimney finished this night & the shingles putting on. A letter from Lt Small that some of Major Hawke's party had deserted. The Provincials have got home in their heads & nothing can stop them or make them do an Hours work though the whole Country depended on it; so I must send them all away.

15th.       In the night past Major Grant arrived. Had left all the English Prisoners on this side the Otter River to come on in the morning. I ordered the officer of the Guard boats to let them pass & send them by the Eastern Shore, and I sent Capt Abercromby, my Aid de Camp, & the Company of light Infantry of the Royal to stop the Escort 4 or 5 miles off & send the Prisoners in. The Escort was 2 Lieuts & 40 Canadians our Prisoners, M Grant, Capts Kennedy McKenzie & Pringle, Lt Hamilton, Meredith & Roche, Ensign Downing, Jenkins & Mackay, Major Lewis of the Virginians & Ensign Hollar of the Pennsylvanians, Capt Tute, Lts Hone, Dickson & Fletcher of the Rangers, Mr Beach, a Master of a Merchantman, and two midshipmen, Mr Cummings of the Alcide & Mr Windsor of the Squirrel.

16th.       The French party that had escorted the Prisoners set off. I sent them fresh Beef, Bread & Rum & they went away very well satisfied, Lt Bailey of the Royal with 40 men escorting them some miles down the Lake. He was to have passed where they were weighing up the Sloops, but the three French Sloops were all brought in this morning by Lt Grant who had weighed the two up. The Enemy had thrown four brass Guns overboard as Ensign McKay acquainted us & we found the Carriages on board. Ruggles's two Batts crossed the Lake

## 192 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

& marched for No 4. Very bad weather, but I must put the Fortress in a good situation for defence and to cover the Garrison before I leave it.

I yesterday received Letters from Brigs Monckton & Townshend of the later end of Sept from Quebec with the account of the taking of the Place; likewise a Letter from Admiral Saunders acquainting me of his Intentions of leaving Lord Colvill to comand the Ships at Halifax.

17th. Schuylers Regt marched; tis time they should go for they would not work any longer. I sent the Inhabitants away who had returned Prisoners. The Sloops all sailed to Ticonderoga to be laid up for the Winter.

18th. Lt Elliot who I sent with £700 to pay the Provincials at No 4 returned. Major Hawke's Party had not behaved so well towards the later end as they did in the beginning. When once they get home in their heads there is no stopping them, & they leave and neglect their sick most shamefully.

19th. I wrote to Governor Pownall to thank him for his attention in providing for the Massachusetts troops, that they may remain the winter in the Bay of Fundy as there will be no troops from Quebec to relieve them. I hope to have all the Posts finished in three or four days.

20th. I had a Letter from Br Gage; he had got to Albany the 16th. The Troops on the Mohawk River arrived in their winter Quarters. Received a Letter from Gov Pownall that Br Lawrence had wrote to him on the Massachusetts Troops refusing to serve.

21st. I wrote to G Pownall and to Br. Lawrence that as the Massachusetts Troops could not be relieved, & the Assembly foreseeing it, had so wisely & judiciously lengthened the Estab-

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 193

lishment & voted all necessarys for them for the winter. If they would not serve voluntarily they should be compelled to by force . . . Lt Campbell brought me a Letter from Mr Rogers, he had got only 51 men of his party in but expected more.

22nd. It is time I should get the Troops away, but I must see the Forts first in a defensive state & cover for their Garrisons, which two days more will accomplish. Capt Starks could prevail only on 157 Rangers to engage for the winter & next summer if wanted.

23rd. I ordered the Regts to be paid what was due to their Artificers, that the whole may march the 25th and not run too great a risk of being froze up. I reduced the six Companies of Rangers to two. Shall keep the officers on pay in case they may be wanted.

24th. It froze hard & snowed. I prepared all necessary orders for the commanding officers of the several Posts that the whole may be ready to reinforce the advanced Posts on any motions of the Enemy, though it is hardly possible they should make any. Ordered Fitch's Regt which is the last provincial one here to cross the Lake & march tomorrow, & the Troops to march leaving the Inniskilling, 200 Rangers for the Garrison of Crown Point.

25th. I got Fitch's Regt, Capt Smiths Company, the remainder of the Provincials, & 175 discharged Rangers over the Lake to go by No 4, & then got the Regts into their boats with near 100 Rangers discharged to go by Albany. We rowed in one Column from the right four boats abreast. I sent forward to M Gen Lyman that his Regt & the remainder of Willards should pass the Lake at Ticonderoga this Afternoon to march tomorrow by No 4. The Barracks at Ticonderoga were completely finished for the Garrison & Lt Brehme had executed

## 194 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

everything quite well. I left the necessary orders with Major Campbell for the defense of the Fort & left Lt Robertson for the care & charge of the Vessels. Twas night before the Regts arrived at the Sawmill & grew so dark that the Regts could only land & make fires by the water side, except the light Infantry, Grenadiers & Royal that got forward to the Landing place.

26th. It snowed so fast I thought it better to get away at any rate than run the risk of being froze up; so ordered all the Regts away, keeping together on the Lake as much as possible. Sent forward the light Infantry & Grenadiers to Fort George & Fort Edward to secure the bridge. The Regts got ashore and made fires at Sabbath day Point. I got to Fort George at night.

27th. An unlucky accident by the Fall of a tree to which they had set fire that fell on Capt Morris of late Prideaux regt. and crushed him to death. The light Infantry got to Fort George early in the morning, the Regts in the Afternoon, & marched into the woods about a mile beyond the Fort & made fires. I stayed with Col Montresor to visit all that was done.

28th. The General at daybreak & assembly half an hour after. As it was a hard frost it was fine marching but no riding. The Regts crossed the bridge & encamped below Fort Edward. One Company of the R Highlanders went to half way brook, five to Fort Edward, and the three Companys of the 2nd Batt to go to Albany lodged in the blockhouses. The french Prisoners are to be to night at Saratoga.

29th. The General at day break, Assembly half an hour after. Marched by the Left, met the french Prisoners at Saratoga. I encamped three miles beyond Saratoga, ordered the french Lt and eight men who were Prisoners at Fort Edward to be joyned to the french Prisoners to go back, & I stoped Mons

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 195

La Force whom Capt Wheelock had sent until I can learn whether Mr Van Braham may be exchanged for him.

30th. I sent the detachment of Capt Cruishank's Company who had been in Saratoga during the Campaign to joyn the Troops to march to Albany. Marched in the same manner as yesterday, and I met Lt Col de Meindre & Major La Motte of the Milice of Detroit with two Cadets going to overtake the other French Prisoners. I marched three miles beyond Stillwater. The Troops every night encamping in the woods, which by making good fires & not pitching any Tents they lay ten times warmer than they could have done on the Plains.

### *December:*

1st. I marched half an hour after daybreak sending the Grenadiers, light Infantry & Gages on before to pass Louduns Ferry and to be over before the other Troops come up; Gages to lay in the woods on the Road leading to Schenectady to which Place they were to march the next day. We got over Louduns Ferry in very good time having three scows that held nearly 100 men each and marched five miles beyond. It was near dark when the last got in; they lay in a good warm wood & the weather required it as it froze very hard.

2nd. I marched at daybreak to get the Royal & Prideaux's into the Sloops early in the day. The three Companys of R Highlanders were to remain in Albany, & Montgomerys Regt to halt a day near the Town & then march into their winter Quarters. It was excessive cold in the morning & snowed; got the Regts on board the Sloops. Sr Wm Johnson who I had sent to meet me came in the Afternoon. The Masters of the Sloops would not venture to sail as the wind was & there was great appearance the river would be froze. I went on board not to lose time but the Sloop could not stir.

## 196 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

3rd. The River almost froze. The Skippers thought it would break up again. A man of the Royal & one of late Prideaux's were froze to death last night, and three Rangers who had stolen a batteau, I suppose in hopes to get down to Claverack, found froze to death. A negro shared the same fate and several People were frost bitten. The weather came on excessively severe & very sudden, but People thought it would not hold & in the evening the wind came to the Southward.

4th. It froze last night & no great appearance of the Ice breaking up. I made out march routes for the Royal to march down on the West side & late Prideaux's on the East. They will be badly cut off, but no help for it, as the River likely may not open till Spring. I ordered them to be ready in case the Frost continued.

5th. The Frost continuing I ordered the two Regts to take seven days Provisions & march to morrow. Ordered Provision to be prepared on the Route for them to supply them till they arrive at their winter Quarters, the time of which must be uncertain, as it must depend on the weather and roads. The Royal has above 100 miles to go to Elizabethtown, and Prideaux's above 170 to go to New York. As it is of consequence I should be at New York I sat out on foot, crossed the River and walked 22 miles to Esqr Quaggenbush's at Kenderhook, a sandy poor soil the whole way. The Road is at such a distance that there is no view of the River & not above half a dozen poor cottages on the whole Road . . . Kinderhook a pretty open spot; about 100 families settled in the place.

6th. I sat out before day break. Walked 14 miles to Claverack to Mr Hauteboom & proceeded 14 miles further to Justice Tinbrooks. The Country between Kinderhook & Esqr Tinbrooks much better than between Kinderhook and Albany,

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 197

settled with farm houses most of the way. A great deall of ground cleared and soil tolerably good; the woods of oak & some pines. Passed through a part of Livingstones Manner.

7th. Walked in the morning 22 miles to DeWitts, which is a pretty situation by the River, the country all laid out in Farms & the Peasants in general live very well.

8th. Went to Pakeepsie 12 miles & 18 miles to Van Wycks; the Country not so settled as on the other side of De Witts. Pakeepsie a pretty place . . . a fine country, Large extensive Hills & Vales which will make a fine Country when opened.

9th. Went 28 miles through the Highlands to Merrils at Pekskill, a very up & down hill Road all the way, but many of the Mountains will be no more than hills & will produce good Corn, when the woods are cleared away . . .

10th. Sat out in the morning. Crossed Croton Ferry a mile from Merrits. A bridge might be built there at a small expense & would be a vast advantage to the Road; it is more wanted than anything I have remarked on the whole road. From Croton Ferry for about five miles the Road goes in sight of the Hudson, the view of which is very fine & the pleasantest part of any I have seen. I stoped at Hicks or Conflings 14 miles from Merrits, & 7 miles from Hicks passed Mr. Phillips's a good looking house but very few improvements about it. The whole land between Croton & Kingsbridge is 26 miles from Croton Ferry. Lay at Dikemans<sup>137</sup> at Kingsbridge.

11th. In the morning I went to see where the water from the Sound opens to the Hudson River, which makes the Island that New York is on & the Passage from Kingsbridge to the

137 The Dykeman house was destroyed in the Revolutionary War, but was rebuilt. It is now a museum relating to the Dutch period.

## 198 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Hudson. Went 14 miles and dined at the Lt Governors. The Genl Wall Packet arrived at New York with dispatches of the 29th Sept.

1760:

### *February:*

13th. The Leicester Packet arrived 9th Jan. I wrote to Mr Pitt by Lt Col Robertson who sailed in a Man of War . . .

29th. Capt Jervis in the Albany Sloop of War arrived with a Letter from Mr Pitt of 7th Jan & Circulars to the Governors . . .

### *March:*

8th. Col Montgomery sailed with a Detachment of 1312 men to So Carolina convoyed by the Albany Sloop of War.

### *May:*

2nd. I sat out in Mr Kirby's boat leaving orders with Col Howe for embarking the men belonging to the Garrison of Quebec and with Capt Doake of the Lizard to convoy them, sending in one transport to Louisburg that Capt Gualy with the officers & Camp equipage &c belonging to that Garrison were shift on board of. Sent orders to the Royal to march to Elizabeth Town and embark there for Albany; Congleton's to embark at New York & proceed likewise to Albany. The winds proved so contrary that I did not arrive at New York till the 8th of May. Dined with Gen Gage.

9th. Not a Provincial yet come. I received a Letter from Col Fletcher that he was arrested at New York by the Master of a Sloop who had lost his Vessel in the Government's Service, but through his own disobedience of orders that were given to him

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 199

which he would not follow. I ordered the Ground to be marked against the Troops arrive.

10th. I reviewed the 2nd Battn of the Royal Highland who went through their Exercise very well. Saw the Independent Companys very weak & in bad order. Col Prevost arrived from New York. Sent some Provision to Kinderhook against the Provincials arrive there. Ordered Mr Symes to get up Provisions as fast as possible that the Troops may take all with them that they can. Wrote to the several Governors to press the march of the Troops to Albany.

11th. As none of the Oxen came, I ordered the 6 24-Pounders to be forwarded to Albany. Sent to Sr Wm Johnson to meet me at Schenectady.

12th. I met Sr Wm Johnson at Schenectady. He promised the Indians should be ready, did not doubt we should have as many at least as last Campaign, was uneasy himself at not having proper Rank in the Army tho' he did not wish or pretend to be a military man, but because some People had talked as though he had no Rank at all. Wished to be paid as Colonel, for the £600 p year was not sufficient to bear his expences & could not be meant for his taking the Field. The Batteaus and whale boats going on very well at Schenectady. At night I received a Letter from Major Campbell at Ticonderoga that a Party of a Corporal & six men whom he sent on the 8th to Crown Point in returning the next day with a Letter a Ranger & a man lately returned from Montreal, the boat proving leaky they got on shore & on the Road were attacked by a number of Indians. One man of the Party got to Ticonderoga & made this report . . .

13th. I sent away 6 24-Pounders to Schenectady, ordered the Company of the New York Troops to take them up to Fort

## 200 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Stanwix, sent likewise some 9-Pounders & 6-Pounders with some sailors and 60 of the New York Troops from hence to take them to Fort Stanwix. Two Companys of the Royal arrived. It rained so hard and ground so wet I ordered them to remain in the Sloops till further orders. I received a Letter from Col Haviland of the 10th that the Party which was attacked by the Indians all got safe in except a Lance Corporal & a discharged servant of Capt Stuarts; did not know whether they were taken Prisoners or killed; that the Brig and Sloop sailed down the Lake on the 9th & he had sent to Major Rogers who was on board with 60 Rangers & 30 light Infantry to acquaint him of what had happened, that he may try to cut the Enemy off. By a Letter from Capt Forster at Fort George some of the Indians had appeared on Fort George in a drift batteau they had found.

14th. I sent all the Massachusetts with Provisions to Half Moon. Another Company of the Royal arrived. I wrote to Col Haviland, set to work all the men I could pick up out of the three New York Companys raised here, tho' they petitioned me not to be employed till they receive their bounty clothing necessities &c. Officers & men would much rather spend their time at the Ale House than do anything before the other Provincials arrive.

15th. Three more Companys of the Massachusetts arrived at Flatbush, but their officers had no Commissions & the men not appointed to any Battn. Not to lose time I set them to work to take provisions up in batteaus to half moon, & sent one officer & 30 men to help at the carrying place, and an officer & 30 of the new Yorkers Loudun Ferry to assist them.

16th. Two Companys of Massachusetts arrived; I ordered them to take Provisions up tomorrow morning. The 4th Com-

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 201

pany of the Royal arrived & marched into Camp. In the evening Col Oughton's Regt all arrived too late to encamp, so ordered them to disembark & encamp tomorrow. A Letter from Major Christie of the 11th from New York that he had been obliged to hire another Vessel; the Camp Equipage &c took up so much Room, and that Vessel sailed that day to overtake the other at the Hook. Forwarding provisions, Artillery, Stores and all I can to put us forward, but the Provincials I fear will be very late.

17th. Col Oughton's<sup>138</sup> Regt encamped. An Officer & 46 men of the Rhode Island Troops arrived. I sent them directly with Batteaus & provisions nine miles above Half Moon, as the River is now very high with the last Rains.

18th. I ordered the Stores for Ticonderoga & Crown Point, & Capt Lt Williams Engineer to Fort George to finish the works there. Two Companys of the Massachusetts arrived consisting of 164 men.

19th. As I was dispatching my Letters for England I received an Express from Boston sent by Gov Pownall with a Letter from Gen Murray<sup>139</sup> that on the 28th April he had marched out to attack the Enemy, but unfortunately was obliged to retire under the Musketry of our Blockhouses, and had lost all his Cannon; that as the Enemy would have taken possession of the Heights which command the Town he could not hesitate about giving them battle, as the Place is not fortified; that he was in hopes he should not be reduced to Extremitys but that the Fleet would arrive; in which case he would retreat to the Island of Orleans to wait Reinforcements unless he can do better. On this I resolved to send immediately Whitmore's

138 (James Adolphus Oughton), colonel of the 55th regiment.

139 This refers to General Murray's fight at Ste. Foye, where he was driven back to Quebec by the Chevalier de Lévis.

## 202 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

& late Barrington's from Louisburg & I ordered Major Christie to Boston to take up Vessels, and wrote to Governor Pownall to desire 300 Pioneers might be sent in them to Louisbourg. I sent my dispatches to Mr Pitt by Col Montresor.

20th. Two Companys of the Massachusetts Troops arrived. I sent 50 men to Fort Miller, 15 to Fort Meir; 42 are at Saratoga. These are the numbers with 42 men fixed at Albany or half moon to keep the boats on the Communications going with Supplys. The remainder took up provisions. I sent away every man of the New York Companys to Schenectady to help get the Artillery Stores to Fort Stanwix. Capt McCarthy arrived from Boston and by what he says it looks as if the Enemy intended to have laid siege to Quebec without waiting for reinforcements or a French Fleet. They had no Cannon in the Action, he believed, tho' some thought they had a small Piece or two. The intelligence they had of the Enemy was they had eighteen 18-Pounders, two 24-Pounders, a 13-inch Mortar & some small ones.

21st. I gave Capt McCarthy orders to return to Boston and to convoy the Transports from thence to Louisburg & Quebec. I ordered Capt Debbieg Engineer, as he is the best I know, all that Part the last year to repair there in case Major McKellar's wound should put it out of his Power to act. 4 Companys of the Royal & four Independent Companys marched, 2 of the Royal, McCleans & Gates Companys for Ticondroga, 2 Companys of the Royal & Cruikshanks Company for Fort George, Ogilvies to Schenectady from whence Gages is to go to Oswego, and the Two Companys of Murray to Fort Stanwix; the whole taking up provisions with them.

22nd. Two Sloops of Rhode Islanders & a Sloop of the New York Troops arrived. Sent the Rhode Islanders with provisions to half moon & the New Yorkers to Schenectady to take

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 203

provisions to the little Falls. Encamped two Companys of Massachusetts, the first that have encamped of the Provincials. Sent an Express to order Abercrombies Grenadiers to Niagara, as likewise 74 of that Regt from Oswego in case Col Haldimand could spare the last.

23rd. A Sloop of Rhode Islanders, 46 men, arrived. A Company of 72 men of the Massachusetts arrived. Ordered both Partys to take up batteaus, Oars, paddles &c to half moon.

24th. 705 men of the Massachusetts, officers included, returned from taking batteaus & provisions up the River. I gave them Tents allowing a Tent to six men and they encamped. 45 men of the Rhode Islanders arrived & encamped. Lt Col Miller of the Massachusetts came from Boston & said their Troops were never so late as this year owing to a want of Power being given to compleat them by Drafts; that they had nothing to depend on but recruiting, by which they could never yet compleat & they had now not above 4000 men, and the Power for drafting could not be given till the Assembly met, which would be on the 20th of this month.

25th. Five hundred of the New York Troops arrived. I ordered them with two Sloops of Rhode Islanders which arrived likewise this day to take batteaus & provisions to Louduns Ferry, to carry the boats over the Landing Place & proceed to Schenectady.

26th. Three more Sloops of New York Troops arrived, & 180 men of the Massachusetts. So rainy the men could not proceed to Schenectady. I ordered Mr. Rogers with 300 men to surprise St Johns & destroy the Magazines at Chambly and the West of the River while 50 of the 300 were to destroy Wigwam Martinique on the East side. This may alarm the Enemy & may force some of their Troops away from Quebec. 'Tis all I can do till I get more Troops here to forward to the advanced Garrisons. Had a Letter from Oswego that three

## 204 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

men who were out fishing were taken Prisoners by the Indians & sent to Swegatchi. Troops in Camp today 12 Companys of Massachusetts & 100 men of Rhode Islanders. They are all of the Provincials yet encamped. Several Sloops arrived with New York Troops, 200 men of the New Jersey and Capt Ogdens Company of Rangers. I ordered all the New Yorkers to take batteaus & provisions up the Mohawk River. As now the River is high it will not be difficult getting the batteaus up & across the landing place.

27th. It rained very hard & the River rose very high but it will help our boats much. It was night before the New York Troops got away. Some more of their Troops arrived which landed and encamped. I ordered a Major & 250 men of the Massachusetts with Lts Rutter & Rose to make the Road from McBeans Camp to Fort Edward, to avoid the Dugways. I gave orders to Major Rogers to go down Lake Champlain to pass the Isle au Noix & surprise St Johns and destroy all the Magazines on the River. If he can get by Isle au Noix without some of their Party discovering him he will effect this easily. He is to take 250 men sending at the same time 50 men to Wigwam Martinique to destroy everything there & Major Rogers is to cross the River and to march back by the East of the Isle au Noix. I wrote a Letter to Gov. Murray upon a very small piece of paper which Rogers is to send by two or three men across the Country from Mischiscoui bay to Quebec.

28th. I received a Letter from Brigr Monckton that my sending boats to Presque Isle would take off all the difficulties he had to encounter. I ordered the whale boats 60 in number to set out tomorrow. I received intelligence from the Oswego side that Quebec was taken, & Col Haviland sent me intelligence from Crown Point by two Prisoners who escaped from Montreal the 18th that the French were retired from Quebec with great Losses having given up the Siege.

## VII

May 29, 1760, to August 9, 1760

This Section continues the description of all the military details of the expedition up to the time of departure of the army by way of Lake Ontario.

1760:

*May:*

29th. Albany, this morning the 60 whale boats set out for Oswego under the comand of a Major of the New York Troops with 482 men exclusive of Commissioned Officers. Of these, 1 Capt, 1 Lieut, 3 Sergts & 64 men were to stop at Oswego Falls for the forwarding provisions. 1 Lieut, 2 Sergts & 48 men were for the west end of Oneida Lake, & the same number at Fort Stanwix, all of New York Troops. When the whale boats arrived at Oswego, Major Gladwin was to take comand with an additional number of 100 men of Gages comanded by Major Arnot & as many of Capt Waites Rangers as would make up the number required for the whale boats. Ensign DeNormendie went to assist. I wrote to Br Monckton to acquaint him of the whale boats being set out & that I hoped they would be at Presque Isle in 25 days.

30th. This day the 5 Companys of Montgomerys marched to take Provisions at Schenectady to the Little Falls to encamp there, and to relieve the Compys of Murrays at Forts Herkimer, Hendrick, Hunter & Johnson, which Companys are to take up provisions & joyn the Regt at Fort Stanwix, that Lt Col Massey may clear everything to Oneida Lake. I sent 3 Lts (there being no Capt arrived), 1 Ensign, 6 Sergts, 134 of

## 206 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

New Jersey Regt to the Little Falls to take provisions from Schenectady to Fort Stanwix to return to the Little Falls for the Transportation of Provisions up the Mohawk River.

This day I had in Camp Massachusetts . . . 1146, New York . . . 451, Jersey Troops . . . 135, Rhode Islanders . . . 567—Total 2299, officers included . . . I ordered a General Court martial to try a man of Montgomerys on complaint of Mr. Tynbrooks for having set fire to his barn & outhouse.

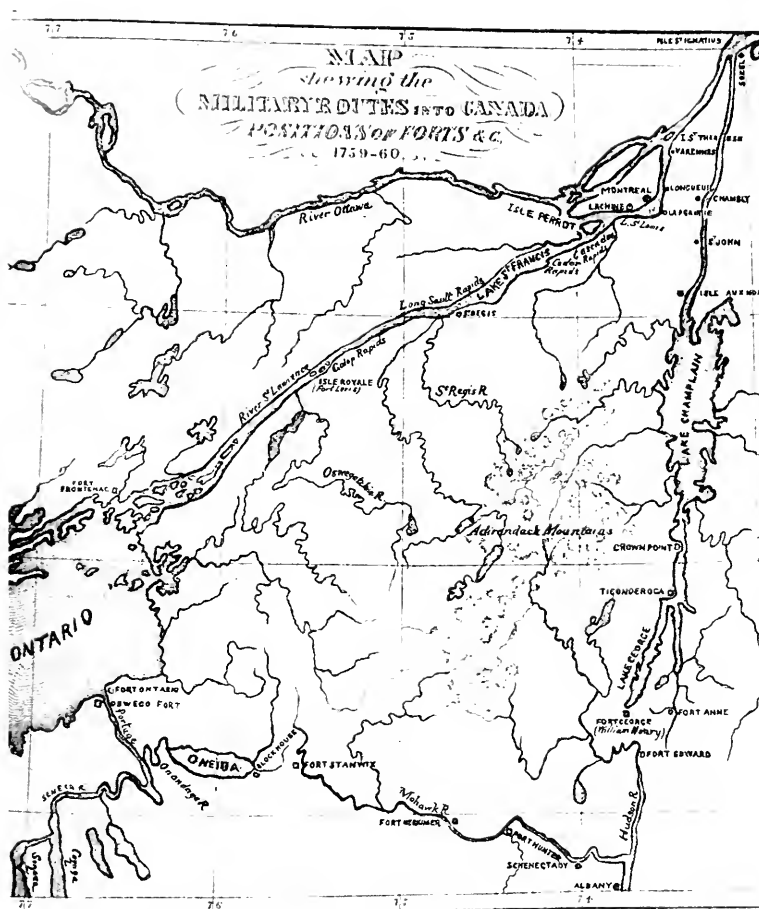
31st. I had a Letter from Sr Wm Johnson that he had got three proper men to take the 12 horses from Fort Herkimer to Niagara, as I had proposed to him, but that they must be paid cash a dollar a day, as no man in this Country will work under that price.

Connecticut Troops arrived at Greenbush having marched by Land. The others are coming by water. I ordered them to Half Moon to take up some batteaus & provisions from the Carrying Place to Schenectady and then they are to return & receive their Arms & Tents.

### *June:*

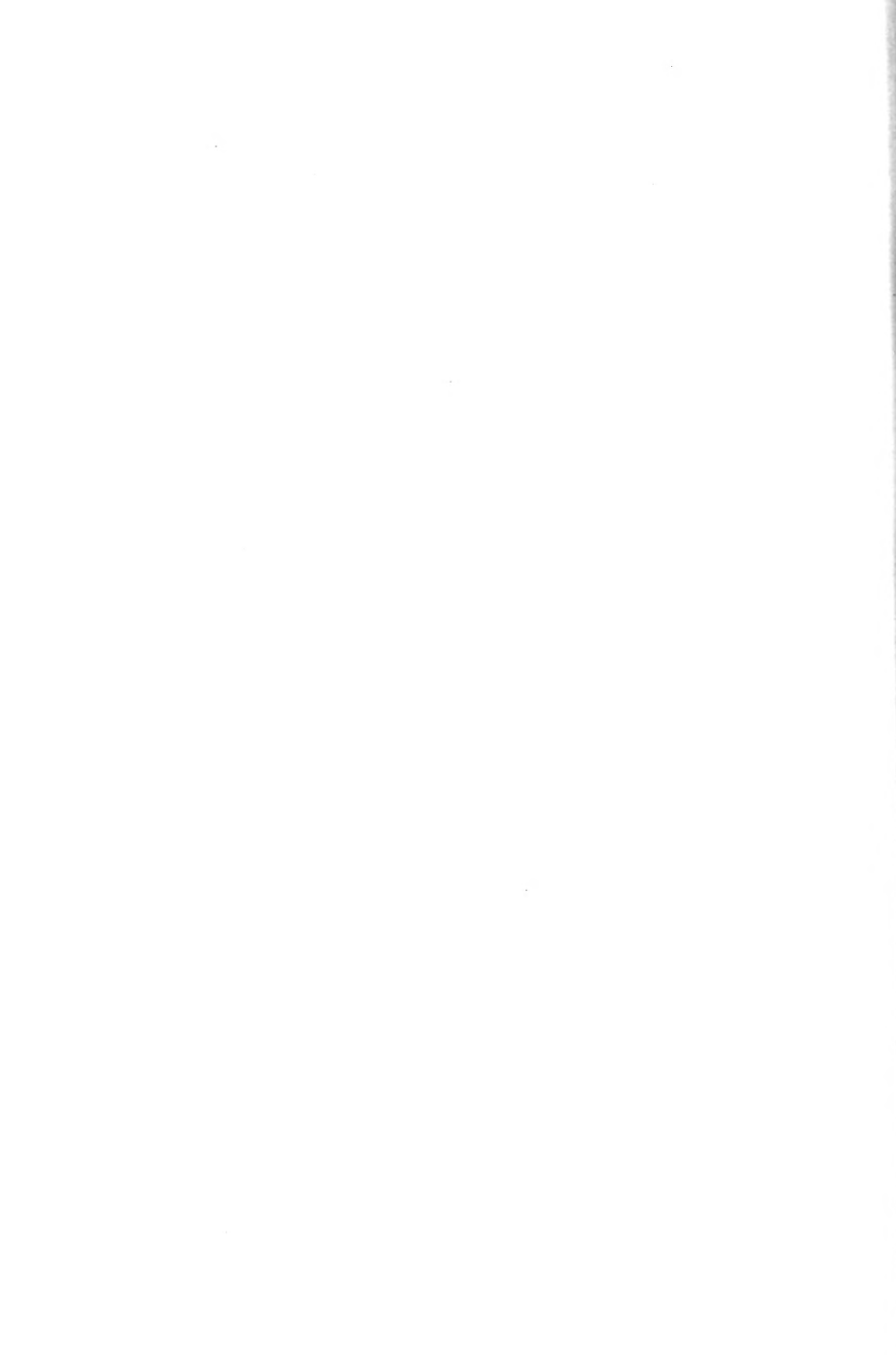
1st. I ordered all the Massachusetts being about 1200 to take up Provisions to Fort Edward & to proceed to Crown Point leaving Lt Col Miller & 300 men at Ticonderoga. The whole were compleated with Tents here & they receive their Arms at Ticonderoga, and they may do some good in working at the Forts till the remainder of the Provincials arrive, so that I can proceed from hence & the Troops may afterwards set out from Crown Point & Oswego at the same time. I ordered 300 men of the Rhode Islanders to Crown Point . . .

2nd. The Massachusetts Troops marched at seven instead of at day break as I had ordered. Some more New Jersey Troops arrived. I sent a Party to cut trees to repair the



THE TWO MILITARY ROUTES FROM NEW YORK STATE INTO CANADA (Miles)

1. By Lake Champlain.
2. By Lake Ontario.



## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 207

Road that with the Carting in rainy weather are become very bad . . .

3rd. Some more Connecticut Troops arrived. I sent them to Nestaguina to take batteaus & provisions from Louduns Ferry to Schenectady & to return here & encamp. Some New Jersey, New York & Massachusetts arrived. I sent all the Massachusetts that arrived yesterday to Fort George to help with the works there . . .

4th. Lt Phillips of the 45th arrived from Louisburg with a Letter from Gov Whitmore. Some dispatches from Mr Pitt came by Col Bastide in the Fame Man of War; a Letter from Col Bastide with the orders he had received. Lt Phillips met the Achilles going into Louisburg with a Transport Company of Miners. Bastide wrote that the Dorsetshire was likewise coming to Louisburg, then three line of Battleships . . . I suppose it must be on some information of the Enemys attempting to get the 16 Frigates that were reported to be coming from France up the St Lawrence River. Col Bradstreet desired I would if possible send some more men with provisions to Fort Stanwix before the Troops go. I ordered 300 men accordingly. A Letter from Col Haviland that Major Rogers embarked with his Party of 303 men & Officers on June 1st.

5th. Lt Col Robertson & Mr Stobo arrived. The last brought me a Letter from Mr Pitt recommending him for a Company. Some of the Connecticut Troops arrived that I ordered to Half Moon & to take Batteaus & Provisions to Schenectady.

6th. By a letter from Lt Col Eyre of May 18th they had lost during the winter at Niagara 149 men. Col Haldimand at Oswego has lost 135.

7th. The weather grew better. A great flood in the River will have stoped everything that was going up. I sent

## 208 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

a Company of the Massachusetts for the Garrison of Fort Edward & would have sent three more Companys but Col Bradstreet was not ready. The first of the Connecticut Troops encamped to day. Two more Companys arrived & I sent them to Schenectady to take a trip to the Little Falls with Provisions & then return & receive their Arms & Tents.

8th. Capt McIntosh & Company of Montgomerys brought in all the Wagons from the East side of Hudson River . . . I sent the remains of the Rhode Island Regt to Crown Point . . . Above 100 of that Regt not yet arrived. Some more of the Massachusetts arrived. I ordered two Companys of Montgomerys to Schenectady to take provisions to Little Falls & joyn the other Companys.

9th. A Company of the Massachusetts arrived. I sent 166 of the Connecticut to Louduns Ferry to take batteaus & provisions to Schenectady, to proceed to Little Falls & return to receive their Camp Equipage, Arms &c. As most of the New York Troops are come in I ordered the First Regt to march tomorrow. They desert very fast . . . I rushed forward the Massachusetts to Fort Edward with Provisions as fast as they arrived . . .

10th. The First Regt of New York Troops marched. I sent all the Hospital Stores to Schenectady for the Regt to take to Oswego. They were likewise to take all the Artillery Stores that they can. I had a Letter from Major Rogers of the 7th that on the 3rd he landed Lt Holmes with 50 men on Mischiscoui bay, & a Sergt and 3 men with my Letter for Br Murray. On the 4th he landed in the evening with 200 men on the West Side. The 5th he imagined he was discovered by the Enemy. Lay still all day as he was within 8 miles of Isle au Noix. On the 6th his Party came in & told him the Enemy

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 209

being about 300 chiefly Indians were coming to him. About half an hour after eleven they attacked him briskly & he was not behindhand in returning it. About one the Enemy retreated & he pursued them half a mile to Cedar Swamp which he thought better not to engage in. He thinks he killed about 50, but they took their killed & wounded except three Indians, two of which he scalped, & the third the Enemy had saved him that trouble. He brought off Capt Johnson of the Rangers very badly wounded, who afterwards dyed, and Ensign Wood of Moncktons with seven men of that Regt & three others were killed & nine wounded, all which he brought off & returned in his batteaus to the Vessels. If the Enemy has not taken a prisoner, they will be greatly alarmed, and cant but tell but it may be an advanced party of the Army that is on the Lake. I ordered two remaining Regts of New York Troops to march tomorrow. The 1st Regt goes to Oswego, the 2nd to the west end of Oneida Lake, the 3rd to Fort Stanwix . . .

11th. I had a Letter from Sr Wm Johnson acquainting me an Indian Party had come in who had met near Oswegatchi on the 2nd June one of the Head men of Oswegatchi who was formerly an Onondaga who said the French were returned from Quebec where they were repulsed with a great loss of men and Artillery, besides six Ships they lost of which four were loaded with Provisions, the other two with ammunition. They were taken by two of our Men of War & a Frigate who arrived there during the Siege. Soon after, eight more of our Ships appeared which obliged them to raise the Siege. The French took & destroyed one of our out Batteries with the second officer in command. This must be Col Young who was taken on the 28th or Br Murray must have had him to retrench himself on the Hill out of the Town.

## 210 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

One Company of Massachusetts arrived. Tomorrow all the Jersey Troops that are arrived are to take whale boats to Half Moon to cross the carrying place & proceed to Schenectady. I wrote to Col Haviland again for Major Rogers' directions of what he should do. Major Christie arrived from Boston having executed his Commission very well tho' the Merchants took all the advantages they possibly could of the necessity they found there was for Ships to go up the River St. Lawrence and made him pay for it accordingly. Their behavior in this affair has been very bad. The Transports sailed the 8th.

12th. Col Worcester of the Connecticut Troops arrived, said their quota which ought to be 5000 would want 2000 of being compleat. The notions of peace have made all the provinces neglect raising their men & trouble themselves very little whether they were compleat. The fears they had of the French are now over & nothing but being in danger will induce them to assert themselves, tho' it must be of as much consequence this Campaign as ever it was that they should do it. As the wind was contrary & the Connecticut Troops could not get up the River I ordered them to march by land if the wind did not change. Sent Capt Prescott to Fort Edward to order the R Highlanders to Half Moon . . .

13th. I sent all the Connecticut that were arrived to Schenectady & Louduns Ferry to take a trip with provisions & to return here . . . I sent Col Haviland his Instructions with orders to command the Troops to assemble at Crown Point . . . Mr Barrow arrived with £30,000.

14th. I sent away the Massachusetts Company to pick up all the batteaus on the River which the Troops in going up had carelessly let go adrift . . . Ordered the Rhode Islanders to go with batteaus tomorrow to Fort Edward & to proceed to Crown

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 211

Point. As Mr Barrow was arrived with money I gave warrants for bat & forage money

a Colonel .....	£32. 10. 0
a Lt Col .....	27. 10.
a Major .....	22. 10.
each Captain .....	17. 10.
each Subaltern .....	6. 5.
a Surgeon .....	10. 0.
Chaplain, Adjutant, Quarter-Masters and Surgeons mate each .....	7. 10.

I allowed every officer that commanded a Battn the payment of the Rank above his Rank in the Army. All absent Officers not allowed anything. A Chaplain doing duty as deputy allowed bat & forrage money, if he was not Chaplain to any other Corps when he received it. I took my own forrage money at 100 Rations per day, sixpence per Ration. I never took any Ration portion money. The Allowances to Commander in Chief is 24 Portions p day at four pence per portion.

15th. a Sloop of New Jersey Troops arrived and a few Connecticut. In the Afternoon some more Connecticut marched up by land . . .

16th. Several Sloops came up with provisions, which are wanted as some of the Carriages are unemployed. Col Schuyler & some more Jersey Troops arrived, likewise some Connecticut. .

17th. Some more of the Connecticut arrived.

18th. The whale boats set out about eleven o'clock. I received an Express from Lt Gov Bull with a Letter from Col Montgomery May 24th at No 96; was to march very soon to Fort Prince George.<sup>140</sup>

140 FORT PRINCE GEORGE: On the upper part of the Savannah, 170 miles above Fort Moore. Erected by Governor Glen of Georgia after 1743.

## 212 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

19th. I sat out for Schenectady. Left Br Gage to send off the four Battns of Connecticut as fast as they could be completed & the 2nd Battn of R Highlanders to bring up the Rear of the whole . . . . I received a Letter from Col le Roux at Justice Fryes that the Enemys Indians had killed & scalped a man named Scowman & taken off two Prisoners. He sent me a List of 18 Deserters since they were on the Mohawk River.

20th. I sent Capt Darcey to Albany to desire Gen Gage to send one of the Connecticut Battns here as soon as he could that the R Highlanders may move forward, to send an Officers Party to try to take up some of the New York Deserters.

21st. At 3 this morning Lts Goddard & Sheriffe arrived from Crown Point. They brought me Letters from Mons de Vaudreuil and Mons Levis of the 11th June the day they quitted Montreal. Mons Vaudreuil sent me 123 Prisoners including 8 Officers & Capt Tute of the Rangers, and the eldest Jacobs of the Indians who was taken on Lake George. Capt Bonneau who was Prisoner at New York came with them to settle the Exchange & waits in one of the Sloops on the other end of the Lake. From what these Gentlemen say Mons de Levis Intent was to induce Gov Murray to march out. They had laid bets about it in the Army for they were not in the Situation to make the Siege. On this Event of the Siege being raised I dont doubt but that Gov Murray will dispatch a Vessel to England.

22nd. I sent Capt Prescott to Crown Point for Mons Bonneau to proceed to New York for the Exchange of Prisoners. This morning arrived Lymans & Whiting Regts, & in the Afternoon Woosters & Fitchs; as likewise my answers to Mons Vaudreuil & Mons de Levis.

23rd. Sent yesterday & this day 375 each day from the Connecticut to bring Provisions from Louduns Ferry. Lt Col

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 213

Smedley arrived with 60 whale boats from Albany. Ordered the Connecticut to furnish the men for keeping up the communications. Lymans & Whitings to march tomorrow at day break taking batteaus & provisions to Oswego; Woosters & Fitchs to follow the 25th.

24th. I left a Letter for Gen Gage to acquaint him of what orders I had given & I crossed the River & went on the North side 18 miles to Sr Wm Johnsons, dined there & in the evening went four miles to Clements & passed the River to Fort Hunter. Sr. Wm Johnsons House <sup>141</sup> very badly situated, commanded entirely by hills. Several Indians there living on him. The banks of the Mohawk River pretty but very little settled between Schenectady & Sr Williams. At Fort Hunter I received dispatches from Louisburg. The Fort consists of four block-houses with loopholes & the Curtains furnish Storehouses boarded over, which serves for a Platform for men to stand on with small Arms, pleasantly situated on the Schohany River less than a quarter of a mile from the Mohawk River.

25th. I passed the River to Clements & went along the north side of the River to Justice Frye's, about 18 miles from Fort Hunter. The Justice has secured his House by a block-house & loopholes in the House. As he has a numerous family is in no fear of Indians attacking him. The Road all the way from Fort Hunter to Justice Frye's is inhabited by straggling houses, the sides of the River being very good Ground, but the Space is very narrow from the River to the rising Grounds,

<sup>141</sup> Sir William Johnson's mansion was a solid stone structure, first known as Mount Johnson, and, later, Fort Johnson (situated within a mile of the modern city of Amsterdam. During the French wars it was surrounded by a stockade, with two small blockhouses in front; these were removed when peace came.

In 1763 Sir William moved to a wooden house which he built in the village of Johnstown, while his son John continued to live in Mount Johnson.

## 214 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

which are also good. I passed what they called St Anthony's nose, where the Hills become Mountains.

26th. I passed to the South side of the River & went 11 miles to Capt Schuylers within a mile of Fort Hendrick. At night Lt Calder arrived with Letters from Gov Murray of 19th May. I was taken so ill with a pain in my breast that twas all I could do to reach Capt Schuylers, and I was forced to leave my dispatches to read the next morning.

27th. I got up about noon & wrote to Gov Murray. I remained at Capt Schuylers. Capt Prescott returned last night from Crown Point, & Capt Darcy to day from Sr Wm Johnson.

28th. I went in the morning to young Herkimers House. The 1st R Highland Battn was encamped on the opposite side. Took a batteau & went to the little carrying place; sent my horses around to meet me two miles above the carrying place, which is about a mile over. Lt Col Hunt has greatly retarded the whole by not advancing in front as expeditiously as he should have done. He must have passed the carrying place some days past, but there I found him. I went across the River to Fort Herkimer, & in the evening received an Express from New York with a Letter from Col Montgomery of June 4th from Fort Prince George that he had surprised all the Lower Indian Town, burnt their Houses, provisions & everything belonging to them at Estatoc & Sugar Town, and killed between sixty and eighty Indians, & had taken forty prisoners.

29th. I answered the Letter to So Carolina & staid this day at Fort Herkimer. Col Schuyler with his Regt got away about one o'clock. I sent an Aid de Camp to the Landing Place, ordered a Sergt & 15 Invalids of Montgomerys for the Garrison of Herkimer. Several Indians came in. Capt Fundy received orders from Sr William Johnson to go to the several nations.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 215

30th. The 55th arrived in the morning. I sat out for little Indian Fields, the roads very bad, bridges carried away & almost impassable. Little Indian Fields 13 miles from Fort Herkimer. I encamped there . . . I received a Letter from Gen Monckton that he had met with great delays & was afraid his detachment for the relief of Niagara could not be at Presque Isle as soon as the whaleboats.

### *July:*

1st. I wrote to Br Monckton & struck tents, sending them by water. I rid to the place where I had ordered a Post to be erected, which I had christened Fort Schuyler,<sup>142</sup> seven miles distant.

2nd. I staid at Schuylers Post till twelve & went seven miles to Oresco Creek on Great Indian Fields, 13 miles by water. These Fields are low Ground about forty acres cleared. The Mohawk River begins to be very narrow & shallow, & when this Country is settled & cleared such numbers of little rivulets will then dry up which now feed the Mohawk River that I cant think it will be navigable for batteaus.

3rd. I went 11 miles to Fort Stanwix. Sent Capt Prescott forward to order on the 3rd Regt of New York Troops. The 55th arrived at Fort Stanwix. in the evening. The 1st Battn of R Highlanders arrived. The Batteaus & provisions were immediately sent forward over the carrying place but it was too late to get any part of the Rest away. I received a Letter from Lt Col Eyre that Ensign de Normandie was drowned trying to reach Niagara; the wind blew hard & the whale boat opened from

<sup>142</sup> FORT SCHUYLER: A small timber fort, built by the British on the south bank of the Mohawk, and named after Colonel Peter Schuyler. It was on the site of the modern Utica. Utica was at first known as Old Fort Schuyler.

## 216 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Stem to Stern. Mr Gladwin was to set off on Lake Erie the 29th for Presquile.

4th. I went to see the Oswegatchi path & the dam made to throw the water of the Mohawk River to the Sawmill. Took some Indians with me. Lt Col Murray got away with five Companys & the other five got everything over to be ready to proceed early tomorrow. The Ground Fort Stanwix is built on might have been better chose; there is much work yet to be done there. A Square with four Bastions for 24 Guns, 6 to each Bastion. Much timber ready squared lay in the woods.

5th. I set off at daybreak, breakfasted with Lt Col Massey & rid four miles to Fort Bull,<sup>143</sup> where there is a Sluice & a little below the Fort a new Sluice making. Then rid four miles to Canada Creek where there is an Officer's Post & a stockaded Post with a dam for stopping the water from Canada Creek.

6th. The waters were very low. The 55th could hardly get their batteaus down to Canada Creek. I set out for the Oak Field about 8 miles, stoped there half an hour & proceeded down the Wood Creek for the Post on the East end of Oneida Lake. I overtook most of the batteaus of the 1st Battn of Oughtons which sat out from Oak Field early. The River was full of Logs, they could not reach to within some miles of the Post . . . . I stayed the night with Capt Lt Simpson in the block house.<sup>144</sup>

7th. As the Batteaus were not arrived I went to the Oneidas Castle a pretty situation on a Hill about four miles from the block house on the East end of Oneida Lake & on the

143 FORT BULL: A supply station on the carrying place near Lake Oneida.

144 Royal Blockhouse on south bank of Wood Creek near east end of Lake Oneida.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 217

Oneida River. There are about sixty warriors, besides women & children. Some were at prayers in one of the Castles filled with dried eels, salmon & all kinds of fish . . . . .

8th. I sat out early & crossed the Lake to the Post on the West End, being 26 miles from the block house. I proceeded from the Post on the West End to the three Rivers being 24 miles & fine navigation. The post on the West End is badly chose but not worth while now to alter the situation. I encamped at the three Rivers where I found an Indian with his Squaw, two children, a dog, a small canoe, Gun & fishing rod. He made us understand he was an Onondaga & pointed round the compass to shew what belonged to him. I gave them some victuals & the little child eat salt Pork abundantly & then sucked. The young lady was greased all over by eating out of a kettle they had boiled some grease in. The father & mother appeared vastly fond of the little child & always gave it some of everything we gave them.

9th. I went 12 miles to Oswego Falls, the Post there but a bad one. The batteaus & whale boats are taken over some rollers for sixty yards to avoid the Falls without unloading them. They are then launched in the water again & go down a very rapid & bad Stream where they seldom miss being much damaged, so that it appears to me to be a very extravagant measure to build the batteaus & whale boats at Albany. It would be much cheaper & better to build them at the Lake.

I went 14 miles further to Oswego. Ordered 100 Seamen to Niagara that Capt Loring may get out both Vessels against the French ones that appeared off this on the 6th.

10th. I went along the Ground where I proposed to encamp the Regts. Ordered the Q. M. General to mark it out.

## 218 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

This will clear the Ground finely round the Fort<sup>145</sup> to the Land side. I sent off a whale boat to Niagara.

11th. I wrote to Col Haviland, sent him a plan I had received from Quebec of the Isle au Noix, & a Letter from thence wrote by the Engineer giving a description of it. One of the French vessels appeared. A Report from the advanced Post says they saw the other. I sent away Major Barré to Capt Loring at Niagara that, in case he should not be sailed, he may press him & give him an account of what he sees of the French Vessels.

12th. The French Vessels both in sight in the morning & standing in to see what they can of our Encampment. I ordered Major Baron Munster with 200 men & 10 batteaus to go out of the harbour & proceed towards Niagara in hopes to induce the French vessels to try to cut them off, but the Enemys Vessels went off towards Niagara . . .

13th. Excessive hot weather. The navigation of the Mohawk River & Wood Creek very bad. Lt Col Murxey arrived with Oughtons Regt & Major Reid with three Companys of R Highlanders. They have had a difficult task in getting here.

14th. The R Highlanders & Oughtons cleared Ground & encamped on it . . . . Two Ships appeared in the Afternoon. we took them to be ours from Niagara.

145 FORT ONTARIO (OSWEGO): In 1755 the British authorities decided on invading Canada, and resolved to make Oswego on Lake Ontario their base of operations. They built a new fort on the east side of the mouth of the Oswego river, opposite Fort Oswego, to which name Fort Ontario was given. The attack on Canada did not take place, and the forts were destroyed by Montcalm in 1756. When Amherst's operations were in progress Halidmand was sent to build a new fort in the summer of 1759. In the following winter, with the 4th battalion of the Royal Americans, he occupied the new Fort Ontario.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 219

15th. Capt Prescott went on board & stoped Capt Loring from coming into port. He sailed from Niagara on the 13th & Lt Phipps who I had sent from hence on the 9th with Guns, ammunition & 100 Seamen had not then arrived at Niagara. Capt Loring wanted only 40 Seamen, which I immediately sent on board with an Officer of the New Yorkers, & sent Q Master Becker of Gages who is acquainted with the other end of the Lake, as I thought he might be of great assistance. I likewise ordered an Officer of Capt Waites Company with 15 chosen men of that Company & as many from Capt Ogdens, with three whale boats, as Capt Loring intends to send them to look out for the Enemys Vessels while he lays behind an Island.

I sent three 6 Pounders on board. Sailed in the evening in quest of the Enemys Vessels. The Mohawk & Apollo appear to be much larger & finer Vessels than the Enemys. Ours are Snows; the Enemys a Brig & Schooner. All the men hard at work clearing the Ground round the Fort.

16th. Col Williamson arrived with the Artillery Stores, some Artillery & seven Companys of the 1st R. H. Battn. Indians come in every day; we have now 78 men here, & of men squaws & children 212.

17th. 330 men at work on the ditch of the Fort . . . The Indians were out of Luck this evening. They had by some means got at Rum and one man was so wounded they expected he would die. I sent a Surgeon to take care of him & the Indians boiled some bark of trees for him as a cure. An Indian boy died, a Squaw was drowned, and a Squaw had entertained herself so often with the Soldiers that she was almost dying. In their frolics the Indians cut a horse to pieces, who belonged to a Sutler. They are devils when drunk; when sober quiet enough. The Oswegatchis I dont permit to cross the river. Their head

## 220 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Warrior is supposed to have killed about 300 men, women & children. I believe the number is overstated, tho' I dont doubt he has killed many of the first & all of the women & children that have fallen into his hands.

A German who was in the Pennsylvania Troops & had made his escape from the Indians came from Niagara. He was taken at Fort Ligonier<sup>146</sup> about twelve months since by 17 Indians and 2 Frenchmen. The Indians went into Fort Ligonier as friends, got provisions, & in going away took this man at a small distance from the Fort, killed & scalped another who was with him, & wounded him very much. They marched through the woods & when they arrived near Pittsburgh they left him tied, with two men to guard him & to take care of the scalp of his comrade that they carried on a pole. The other Indians went into Pittsburg, got from our garrison shirts, cloaks & provisions & then came away & brought off a soldier of Montgomerys Regt. who they found at a distance from the Fort. After eight days march the soldier escaped. They pursued him two days but could not overtake him.

The German was taken over Lake Erie to St Joseph, from whence he made his escape; was seven days getting to Detroit & eight weeks & three days in getting from thence to Niagara.

18th. Col Haviland wrote Br Ruggles was arrived at Crown Point . . . Major Barré arrived from Niagara; he got there the day after Capt Loring had sailed.

19th. Lt Phipps arrived from Niagara. Capt Loring was sailed before he arrived with his seamen . . . As he was not wanted at Niagara Lt Col Eyre sent him & his men back, as Capt Loring will sooner be here than at Niagara.

20th. In the morning two Vessels appeared . . . Lt Phipps declared they were a Schooner & a Brig, so that they must be the

146 At Loyal Lanow, Pennsylvania.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 221

Enemys. I ordered three whale boats, wrote to Capt Loring by each of them of their being off here, & to desire he would post himself at the river so that they may not get in. I sent Lt Phipps in one, Capt Modie, who knows the Lake, in another, and a soldier acquainted with the Lake in a third. I informed Capt Loring I would send provisions to an Island where he may be supplied in case he should want it. This is a fine opportunity. I think they cant escape him . . . I had a letter from Col Montgomery at Keowee of 23rd June that the Indians had not made peace & he was to march forward to bring them to reason.

21st. I sent Capt Wllyamos<sup>147</sup> off early with his detachment & provisions for Capt Loring. As he has 134 men he can put himself on any of the islands without running any risk . . . Troops are coming in but slowly owing to the water being low . . .

22nd. Br Gen Gage arrived & the four Connecticut Regts. The batteaus were greatly worn by the shallowness of the water & provisions from each boat were left at the Falls.

23rd. Sr Wm Johnson arrived with his Indians.

24th. A good deal of thunder & rain which will clear the air & keep the men from falling sickly & help hinder the Small Pox from spreading . . . The Lake rose 16 inches in an instant; surprised people who had seen boats that were dry floating in a moment. In the evening Lt Kennedy arrived from Capt Loring with the news that he saw the Enemys Vessels yesterday morning & they got from him into the river St Lawrence. So he will see them no more & a fine opportunity is lost.

25th. Lt Col Grant, Capt Abercromby & Col Bradstreet arrived. I received a letter from Mr Pitt with a copy of the

<sup>147</sup> Samuel Wllyamos, appointed captain in the 60th or Royal American regiment in 1757.

## 222 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

orders relative to Lord G Sackvilles Courtmartial to give out in orders to the Troops in North America.

26th. I received a letter from Lt Col Eyre acquainting me that the relief for Niagara arrived the 22nd at the Landing Place, that the officer who had come on to report to him said Major Gladwin arrived the 5th at Presquile & had thrown up entrenchments, that Col Bouquet arrived with the Relief the 17th & they set out the next day. Col Bouquet remained at Presque Isle to finish the Post . . . I employed all the carpenters that could be picked out of the troops in repairing the batteaus, building the boats to carry the 12 Pounders. As the Enemy has boats it may be necessary that we have some too, (for use where our vessels cannot go . . .

27th. Our two vessels appeared. Capt Loring sent to me; he had not seen Lt Col Kennedy whom I had sent to him on the 24th, but he lay yesterday at the Island where Capt Wllyamos had been & not finding him, came here. I sent a whale boat away to Capt Wllyamos to acquaint him of it.

28th. R American Battn encamped. Capt Timpson of Abercrombies with the Garrison from East end of Oneida Lake arrived in Camp. The works at the Fort going on very well by two Reliefs, the 1st from ten to three, the 2nd from three to light . . . .

29th. I wrote to Col Haviland and fixed the 10th August for his proceeding down Lake Champlain. A little disturbance at night between the Indians & some of our people, but Sr Wm Johnson quelled it without any harm done. Biscuit baking for the Troops . . .

30th. I was obliged to have a man hanged who was a notorious offender. He had deserted several times. I pardoned

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 223

nine others who were likewise sentenced to death. I began to work at the Fort with laying timbers to finish the Parapet.

Mr McLeod took an observation with a quadrant & made the Latitude 43.35 N. The sun sets six minutes later than at New York . . .

31st. Lt Col Eyre arrived with Abercrombys Regt . . . I ordered the troops to have baked four days bread beforehand. This with the biscuit will serve for some time when I proceed from hence.

### *August:*

1st. To please the Indians I desired them to christen the Snow and took all the Chiefs on board in the afternoon, as they had told Sr Wm Johnson they would like to have her called ONONDAGA. I had a large flag made with an Onondaga Indian painted on it. This was hoisted just as I christened the Snow by breaking a bottle at the head. Then Gages Regt fired a volley. The Fort fired a gun & the R Highlanders fired a volley & the ONONDAGA answered it with 9 guns. All this pleased the Indians extremely & I had made them some speeches by Sr Wm Johnson. Gave them some Punch & they were greatly delighted with the whole, promised to be fast friends & said they were ready to go with me . . . Abercrombys Regt fired five rounds of ball this morning . . .

2nd. Abercrombys fired two rounds of ball, as they did not fire so well yesterday as they ought to have done . . .

ONONDAGA mounts four 9-Pounders—100 sailors.

MOHAWK mounts sixteen 6-Pounders—90 sailors.

3rd. I increased the number of workmen at the Fort as we had tools for . . . . Capt Dunbar arrived with the Light Infantry Company of Abercrombys from the west end of

## 224 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Oneida Lake where he had been in garrison the winter. Capt Wilyamos arrived with his party.

4th. I saw the 1st & 2nd Battn of Royal Highlanders, Montgomerys & Oughtons fire two rounds by Platoons three deep, two rounds by Platoons two deep, the whole loaded with ball . . .

The cartridges for the carbines were so large I had them tried of different quantities as some almost knocked the men down. I found the best cartridges for the carbines were of sixty to the pound, & for the musketts of forty four to the pound . . .

5th. I received a letter from Col Montgomery of the 2nd July from Fort Prince George, that he had marched through a most difficult country to the Indians beloved Town of Etchoe, that he had drove them from post to post, that within about six miles of the Place he met a large body of Indians who tryed all they could to save the Town, that in the attack poor Capt Williams was killed with 14 privates & 2 sergeants, and 55 men were wounded. The Indians he imagined must have lost 60 men as they found near forty buried in three holes, where they had set them upright, the manner of burying their warriors. He found a great deal of Indian corn & provisions in the Town but the Indians had just before he entered abandoned the whole & carried off their most valuable effects.

### INDIANS IN CAMP To DAY

Senesagos	329	Schohazys	22
Senecas	114	Mohicans	12
Cayugas	284	Chennogas	35
Onondagos	203	Oquagos	18
Tuscaroras	37	Mawas	3
Oneidas	60	Oswegatchys	15

# THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 225

Canasaragas	20	Canadrogas	34
Canajohazys	85	The belt party	12
Mohawks	51		<hr/>
			1330

These include men, women & children. The last two Sr Wm Johnson is getting rid of as fast as he can. I suppose there may be 600 warriors. The Oswegatchi I permit to go home to day with two of our Indians to try to bring in all the Indians from La Gallette. This the Indians desire.

6th. I ordered the two vessels out & a detachment of Ogdens & Waites Companys of Rangers, Light Infantry of Regts, Grenadiers & 1st Battn R Highlanders to proceed down the Lake under the command of Col Haldimand. I appointed Lt Col Massey to the command of the Grenadiers & my brother to the command of the Light Infantry.

7th. The Vessels got out in the morning & the detachment set off . . . I had a letter from Col DeLancey acquainting me of the death of the Lieut Governor.

8th. Sr Wm Johnson delivered Arms & everything to the Indians. Their number to go with the Army by the returns amounted to 706. I received a letter from Col Haldimand complaining of the batteaus being bad & that he had suffered a great deal in the high wind. Several batteaus were stove, a great deal of pork & flour lost, one whaleboat lost and 9000 cartridges spoiled. Some firearms lost.

I prepared everything for setting out on the 10th.

9th. I shall be obliged to leave near 300 sick. I likewise leave some few artificers to continue preparing things for finishing the Fort which yet wants a great deal to be done & must be left till some troops can come back.

## 226 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

A General Court martial finished the tryal of all the prisoners at the Prevost. Ten very notorious were condemned to death. Four were executed this evening. One got out of the Fort by the prisoners being accustomed to air themselves out of the prison, and he slipped off without the Sentries taking notice of it.

I ordered all the batteaus to be loaded with provisions, and the General to beat to morrow at day break. Gave out the order of rowing. Our batteaus fell short of the numbers we wanted.

## VIII

August 10, 1760, to September 11, 1760

This Section describes in detail the advance of the expedition by way of Lake Ontario and the river St. Lawrence, the attack on the French vessels and the capture of Fort Levis on Isle Royale, the descent of the river in boats, the establishment of a camp on Montreal Island, the surrender of the French forces in Montreal, and the Capitulation of Canada.

### *August:*

10th. The General beat at Peep of day & the Tents were struck & with the Camp necessities all loaded, the Assembly half an hour after, & the whole embarked. The Accounts I had from Col Haldimand of his losing his boats made it necessary to take some spare batteaus and I had already delivered all that were repaired, so we set to work about repairing more as fast as possible & I got out with the Artillery & Regulars about ten o'clock, leaving Gen Gage to bring up the Provincials and the rear. The order of rowing was Gen Gages (Regt.) the advanced Guard covering the Front of Columns. The Indians coasted on the right of the Artillery which formed the right Column, that their batteaus might be ready to run on shore if a storm arose. The Provincials formed the Column on the left & the Regulars the Center Column. . . In the evening the wind began to increase & I could not get forward quite so far as I intended to. Ran into a River about 30 miles from Oswego where the batteaus were very secure but bad ground for the men & not very good getting into it. Some of the batteaus did not get up & some were damaged by coming in the night. As the wind increased

## 228 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

a batteau of the Artillery & one of Montgomerys were quite sunk but nobody drowned; a man of Gages drowned by falling overboard.

11th. I sent Capt Darey back to Gen Gage. Wrote him what I intended. The wind blew too hard for the batteaus to venture out. I sent a whale boat with Carpenters & caulkers to repair those of Col Haldimand about six miles from us. I had ordered the Troops to be ready on beating the General.

I left Capt Stuart to command at Oswego with 169 men, returned for Garrison duty; 259 in the Hospital. left Capt Towers Engineer with 20 Carpenters, 6 Sawyers, 4 Smiths, 3 Coal Burners, 16 Teamsters for driving the Oxen, & 20 Axmen with proper overseers to continue carrying on the works of the Fort as much as the few numbers of Troops there will let them & prepare the timber & draw it in against they may have more Troops there. At two it began to moderate. I sent off 14 batteaus to Capt Stirling to take his provisions & orders to him to joyn me as I passed. The place we lay in is called by the French Riviere de Sable & I believe is about 30 miles from Oswego. The weather looking fair I ordered the General to beat & got off about two o'clock, went about eight miles into Prescott bay, called by the French Riviere La Motte. The Creek runs up some miles & there is a small carrying Place into Mouse bay; got in very good time. I saw the Provincials at a distance & General Gage came to me. Capt Darey had missed him & the Provincials put into the harbour we came out of. I sent Gen Gage back to bring them forward if they were not put in, or if they were to bring them on tomorrow morning. They had set out from Oswego the tenth in the evening but finding the weather very bad put back again and came out this morning. Sr Wm Johnson with about half the Indians got up with me

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 229

yesterday, & to day he left officers to bring the others up. The Lake was rough & several men as sick as if they were at Sea.

12th. As most of the men had been obliged to lay in their batteaus, not having room to encamp, our Arms wetted & provisions not kept dry, & some Ammunition spoiled & most of it wanting to be aired, I ordered the General to beat as soon as I saw the weather fine & sat off for Mouse bay where I was told there was room to encamp. The Provincials came up in their Station. Capt Sterling with Col Haldimands People he had left behind me Joyned & I rowed about fifteen miles to Mouse bay; 'twas four in the Afternoon before the rear got in. Sr Wm Johnson remained for the other Indians to come up to him & them to come forward & joyn me. I encamped on the Peninsula, called Camp de Mons de Villiers in 1756.

13th. Some batteaus of the Artillery Stores not yet come up, I sent back Capt Walton with some Carpenters, Pitch, & Oakum to repair any that might want it & to follow. Beat the General early in the morning to proceed to the Point of La Grande Isle, as I wrote Col Haldimand word last night I should take that Route. The Regulars made the Column on the Right, Provincials on the Center & Artillery on the Left. I passed by the Isles au Renards & Chevreuil. At one o'clock Capt Wllyamos met me with a Letter from Col Haldimand. The weather was favorable & we rowed all day to get into a safe harbour; it was ten at night before the last boat got in. In the night I received another Letter from Col Haldimand that the Swegatchi Indians were returned to him, that the Enemy had nearly lost one of their Vessels, were taking the Guns out to put on the Isle Royal. I encamped in Robertsons Bay which I imagine must be nearly 30 miles from my last Camp. The Indians in the whaleboats made strange appearances.

## 230 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

14th. The Lt of Rangers that I sent to Col Haldimand with a Letter returned & could not find him. I wrote back to Col Haldimand & sent Lt Rogers who arrived in the night & the Lt of Rangers with him. About ten I ordered the General to beat. Rowed in three Columns, the Artillery on the Right, Regulars on the Left, Provincials in the Center . . . Rowed about 15 miles & encamped on Haldimand's Island, arriving in pretty good time. it continued raining most of the night. I ordered the Regulars to receive provisions at break of day & the whole to be ready to move on the beating of the General. The lake with a variety of Islands is so very different from what is laid down in the C(h)art, that it cannot in the least be a Guide. I had sent Capt Wilyamos & one other officer on purpose to view the properest Route which is a great help to the Army proceeding down.

15th. As soon as the Regulars had received their provisions we sat out in three Columns from the Left, the Regulars on the Right, Artillery in the Center & Provincials on the Left. We had a very fine day & passed our two Vessels. Capt Loring had not yet found a Channel down. I arrived in very good time at the Island where Col Halidmand had taken Post. We passed Islands innumerable and a most romantick Prospect. The Swegatchi Indians will now be of Service as two of them are sent to pilot the Vessels, By the Report of the Swegatchi Indians that one of the Vessels had run aground & was so much damaged she could not sail, I resolved not to wait for our Vessels if they did not find the Channel & I ordered a Hautwitzer on board the Row Galley that was intended for a 12-Pounder but we could not compleat the carriage before we came away, so I sat then to work directly to fix the Row Galley for a Hautwitzer. I sent a man of Gages who had sounded the Channel down & an Officer of Artillery to bring some stores

GENERAL SIR FREDERICK HALDIMAND

*From the original painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the possession of Mr. W. L. Haldimand, Westmount.*



JAMES ABERCROMBY, JR.  
Aide-de-Camp to Amherst, 1759-60.  
Son of the General who was defeated by  
Montcalm at Ticonderoga, 1758.  
He was later killed at the battle of  
Bunker Hill.

*The original portrait is owned by  
Major R. W. Duff, Scotland.*



## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 231

from the Vessels. We encamped this night on the Island. Col Haldimand had taken Post with his Corps about 20 miles from our last Camp.

16th. The Hautwitzer Carriage was not fixed so soon as I hoped but I ordered the General to beat & we rowed in three Columns by the Right, the Rangers, Gages, Grenadiers & light Infantry Regts forming the advanced Guard under the comand of Col Grant. The Carpenters worked to finish the Hautwitzer Carriage as we rowed on. I was in hopes to reach Swegatchi but we had no wind & it began to grow late when the advanced Guard was in sight of the Point of Baril 17 miles from Haldimands Island. I directed a Camp to be marked there, & on our arriving there with the advanced Guard we saw the French Vessel a little below Swegatchi. It was impossible not to push on to try to attack as it was a calm, & I sent back to Gen Gage to encamp the Army at the Point de Baril and I went on with the advanced Guard. Night came on so fast there was no attacking the Vessel so I ordered the advanced Guard to encamp at Swegatchi. On our appearance the Vessel fired two Signal Guns; so soon as She saw the Fires of the Camp she fired three more. Capt Prescott returned from Swegatchi late & said Sr Wm Johnson had desired Col Grant to lay in a bay & to go to Swegatchi in the morning as going in the night would frighten the Indians.

17th. At daybreak the Vessel began to fire and Col Williamson attacked her with the five Row Galleys. She was going up the River but the wind calmed and the Row Galleys behaved very well; fired 118 Shot. The Vessel fired 72; had three men killed & twelve wounded and then struck. The Artillery had one Sergeant killed and a New York Provincial lost his leg. The Carriage of the Hautwitzer gave way & hurt the Row Galley. The Vessel called the Outawas had one 18-Pounder, seven 12-Pounders & two 8-Pdrs with four Swivels.

## 232 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

The five Row Galleys had four heavy brass twelves & one Hautwitzer. Col Williamson took the command of the Row Galleys to himself & executed it vastly well. On the Vessels sailing up the River I expected she would have been at our batteaus. The Army rowed down 8 miles to Swegatchi, & encamped there. I sent Sailors on board the Vessels & took the Prisoners on Shore, being 27 Sailors, 65 Miliciens, & with the Officers made up 100 men. I sat the Carpenters to work immediately to repair the Row Galley with the Hautwitzer which was damaged by the firing, the Carriage not having been so well finished as it ought to have been. The Vessel had suffered in the Action & I sat Sailors to work to repair her, that I may proceed to the Island without waiting for Capt Loring. I ordered out two detachments of 120 each with Indians that Capt Williamson & Lt Ratser might go down & view the Coast. When they got below the Isle Royal, I directed them to cross if they could pick up a canoe.

18th. At three in the morning I ordered the advanced Guard to strike their Tents & be ready to move, expecting the Engineers back every moment. It rained excessively hard but I determined to go as the sooner I can get down the more Mons Pouchot will be surprised & the less prepared for me. At 8 Lt Ratser came back & at 10 Capt Williamson. The Troops were all ready & I determined from the Report that the Engineers made me of the North Coast being within Random Shot only to get below the Fort,<sup>148</sup> and as the South shore could be rowed

148 FORT LEVIS: After the fall of Fort Niagara, M. de Lévis was ordered to go to La Presentation and establish a post. He decided that the little island of Oraquinton (Oracononton) was the best place for a fort, where he built one, named Fort Lévis. The island was named Isle Royale. It is three miles below the modern city of Ogdensburgh, and is known as Chimney Island, from the old ruins. In March, 1760, M. Pouchot was sent there in command. He was defeated, and the island captured by Amherst late in the year while on his way to attack Montreal. He re-named the fort William Augustus.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 233

down to a Point when the boats would lay quite under cover but not so low as the Fort, though near enough to land & erect a battery on a Point within 700 or 800 yards of the Fort, I ordered Gages to be the advanced Guard to the North shore, to row down close to the shore, two boats abreast, followed by three Row Gallies.

Light Infantry of Regts Grenadiers & 2nd R Highland Battn Montgomerys & Murrays being the 1st Brigade. These were followed by a proportion of light Artillery & then Schuylers Regt. Gages was to get below the Fort & possess Isle Gallot. They cannonaded us briskly from the Fort & sunk one Row Galley, killed two men in another Row Galley. The Ball went through but did not hinder from proceeding. One man in a whaleboat had his thigh shot off & seven were wounded. Some batteaus & several oars struck with the shot. So soon as I had passed I turned about the two Row Gallies & anchored within the first Island to protect the Troops as they came up, & the light Infantry being the first I took possession with them of the two Islands nearest the Fort and they were ready to push out in their whaleboats in case the Garrison sent out their Row Gallies or rather batteaus with small Guns, & I ordered the Grenadiers & all the Regts as they came in to land on the Shore just out of any Shot & where they could not be seen from the Island, as when I passed I found the Fire pretty heavy. To avoid losing men unnecessarily I then directed the boats to follow one by one, and I staid until it was between ten & eleven at night that the last boat passed & got into the Ground intended for them, but the next day it turned out that several of Schuylers had staid behind. The 2nd Brigade consisting of Oughtons, R Americans, 4th Battn, & Abercrombys with two Companys of Rangers in their Front, & Lymans Regt in their Rear, proceeded down the S Shore in the same manner as I did down the North having

## 234 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

two Row Gallies in their Front to protect their batteaus. These were under the command of Col Haldimand, and the Prize Vessel Williamson that I put Lt Sinclair on board to command with a proper crew, who I ordered to sail directly down the Center on the same line of the Columns & to anchor within Random shot of the Fort, was perfectly well executed. He took the Fire from the Fort & returned their Shot. Isle Gallot & Abbé Picquets Island were found abandoned. The Indians having their Scalps they had taken on the Mohawk River & several things behind them, with Tools, two Swivels, Shot, Barrels of Pitch & great quantity of Iron. Our Indians burnt and destroyed everything. I ordered all the Tools, Iron &c to be saved. The Indians at first burnt the Chapel & what they took for the Frenchmens Houses, but afterwards finding in the Indian Hutts the Scalps they burnt them all. I tried at night to get up the Row Galley but as the Carpenters were not come I could not do it. The Gun was wounded but not much hurt & the Shot went through the Bottom of the Row Galley.

19th. I went at daybreak to view the two Islands with Col Williamson & Lt Col Eyres. They judged them about five hundred yards from the Fort; are very nearly the same distance. Fixed on the Ground for the batteries & to place three 24-Pounders, three 12—& a ten Inch Mortar to one & the same to the other, but it turned out one 12-P was Aft with the Row boat at Oswego so we must put something else in the Room of her and two 12-Pounders to be put on a battery on the Point of the South Shore.

I sat to work immediately; ordered the Heavy Artillery, 3 Regts of New York Troops, & Stores to come from Swegatchi at night; wrote to Col Haldimand to make his battery. The Fort fired against the Vessel which the Vessel returned but I

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 235

directed he should rather avoid firing than keep it up. At noon the Vessels under Capt Loring's command were at last seen coming down. I sent and ordered him to anchor at Random shot & to avoid firing. Sat about making fascines & all preparations. Ordered the Carpenters from Swegatchi. Sent at night to get the Row Galley & Gun up. Brought them both in, the Gun not the worse for the shot & the Row Galley can be repaired. Ordered Fitchs & Woosters Regts to come from Swegatchi on the first notice. I had landed Capt La Broquerie<sup>149</sup> & all his men at Swegatchi, put them under the care of Col Whiting, who I left to command there. Took 19 of the best I could pick out to serve as Pilots down the River, gave one to the care of each Corps & put one Pilot on board the Williamson. Just as I was setting out from Swegatchi Ensign Campbell arrived from Boston & brought me my Letters which came by the New York Packet that had put into Boston. Lord Barrington wrote me His Majesty had been pleased to approve of my appointing Lt Col Grant Lt Col on his going to Carolina. I did not open these dispatches till this day, wrote to Col Haldimand to come lower down the River to be more *a portée* to me.

20th. I viewed all the Islands. They are very different from what is represented in any draft. There are eight islands between L'Isle Gallot & Abbe Picquets Island which two are very near abreast in the River, and the Isle Royale. I altered the Encampment & ordered Fleches in Front for 2 Guards & Pickets. The Fort fired very little. The approaches and batteries going on very well. I ordered this morning Fitchs & Woosters from Swegatchi. They came by boat & the Garrison

149 Captain Labroquerie, of the French vessel *l' Outawa*, which was captured.

## 236 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

did not fire. Mons Pouchot<sup>150</sup> thinks it necessary I believe not to throw away Powder till our batteries are up, when I hope to make short work of it for as soon as I can dismount their Guns I shall run the ships in & assault the Place with the Grenadiers & I fancy I shall easily carry it. in the Afternoon I had the misfortune to strain my knee, but I hope it will not be of bad consequence.

21st. The Approaches & Batteries going on well. The Fort fired but little, found out we were at work on a Battery on the Island; killed three men with one Shot. I desired Sr Wm Johnson to get his Indians to reconnoitre down the River at least two days march. Gave orders about the batterys firing. Established Posts at the Batterys by which 50 men will be a sufficient Guard, so that I shall have the whole Army ready in case Mons de Levis should attempt to come up.

22nd. All the workmen that could be employed were about the Trenches & Batteries; the Artillery drawn up, the Trenches to be ready. The Batteries were to have been ready this morning but could not be before tomorrow morning.

23rd. Very early in the morning Col Williamson sent me a note that he would like to begin Fire with the Battery on the right that was compleated,—that of two 12-Pounders on the opposite Shore; and such Guns as were mounted on the battery on the left which they would at the same time continue to compleat. We began firing accordingly & the Enemy drew in all their Guns after some time firing. I ordered the Vessels to fall down

150 POUCHOT: His first name is unknown. Born, 1712; entered French army, 1733. Fought in several campaigns. Made Captain, 1746, receiving the Cross of St. Louis. Sent to Canada, 1755. Rebuilt Fort Niagara. Engineer at Fort Oswego, 1756. At Ticonderoga, 1758. In 1760, he held Fort Levis on Isle la Présentation in the St. Lawrence river, captured by Amherst on his way to Montreal. Returned to France at end of the war and was killed in Corsica, 1769.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 237

close to the Fort, and the Grenadiers with a thousand fascines to be ready to assault the Fort, sending with them two Hautwitzers in the Row Gallies and 300 men of the light Infantry & Gages to row in the fascines & secure the batteaus, & I put as many marksmen on board each ship as the commanding officer chose to have to fire from the Tops. Everything was ready at the Island on the Right & the men in their batteaus. I sent to Capt Loring to desire the Vessels would move down together & go close to the Fort. The Mohawk got down very soon, but the others not following, he lay alongside about three-quarters of an hour, & the Enemy from their first consternation recovered themselves & fired their Guns, one shot taking Place in the Mohawk, that beat in a Plank and risked her sinking. Lt Phipps cut the Cable & got down below the Island. Then the other two Vessels arrived nearer the Fort & an unlucky shot cutting the Cable of the Williamson, Lt Sinclair was drove down the River and obliged to follow the Mohawk. The Onondaga remained in her Station & I sent Capt Abercromby on board who gave my orders that she should remain there. These Accidents determined me not to pursue my Plan without the help of the Ships, as I must have lost a great many men and perhaps miscarried. The Fort fired a good deal at the Vessel, but without much much execution, & our Batterys made the Enemy extremely shy of standing to their Guns. The Onondaga very unwisely tried to get farther off & the Stream drove her on nearer & aground instead of getting through as the others had done. In this situation she lay much exposed, but nothing could be done immediately to help her. To try to silence & dismount the Enemys Guns from our Batterys was now the only thing till night come on. About five o'clock a boat was going from the Onondaga to the Fort & the men on the battery took it to be Capt Loring or Capt Thornton, The battery fired at it but

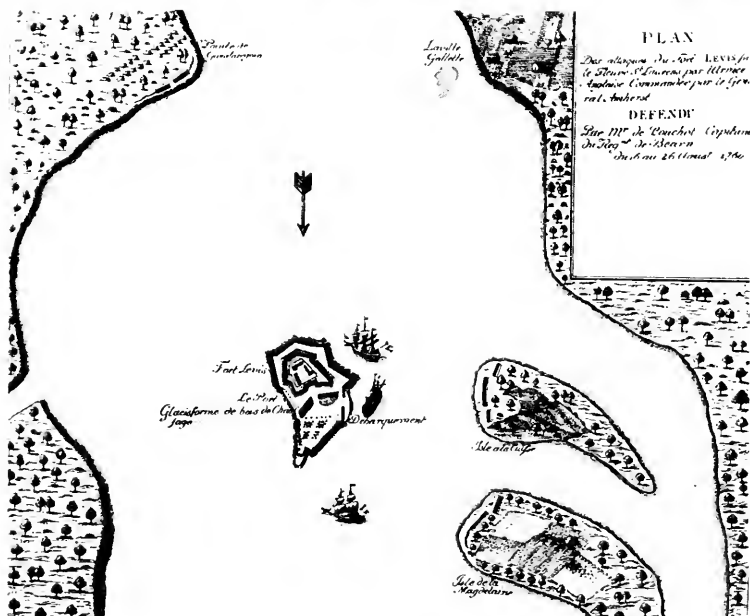
## 238 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

the men got on shore and another boat coming from the Island, I suppose to hoist French colours as the Onondaga had struck hers, the battery fired & hit her, and 40 Volunteer Grenadiers were immediately sent on board under the comand of Lt Pennington who hoisted the Colours again. This Lt Col Massey very judiciously did for I had been gone from the Place half an hour, and when Lt Abt brought me the report of a boat going from the Ship to the Fort, I thought he must be mistaken, but I directly sent orders for the Grenadiers to take possession of the Ship & to protect her against all Partys as I had fixed two Row Galleys with three Companys of Grenadiers on purpose for this Service, and on the Volunteers going on board the Row Galleys, advanced & made two very good Shots with the Hautwitzers. The Mohawk & Williamson were saved from going on the Rifts and I shall get them repaired tho' they are very much shattered with Shot & have only one Anchor remaining to the Mohawk. I sent some empty batteaus to the Onondaga to get the Artillery Stores but on the least motion there was such a Fire from the Fort & some red hot Balls, that the men could not stand to their work and as she was filling with water and could not possibly be got off or the Enemy get any advantage by her, I thought it best since I could not keep her People on board without being greatly exposed to the fire, to take them all away at day break & send a Guard at night. Lt Sinclair & Lt Pennington accordingly sent the men off & came last off & reported to me they had taken the whole away. I ordered two 12-Pounders from the Williamson as her Guns must be taken out, two Cohorns & a Royal to be sent to Col Haldimands Battery & our Batterys to fire now & then a Shot during the night to hinder the Enemy from repairing their works. Report from Capt Lotteridge who had been on a Scout with the Indians that he had gone 30 miles down the North Shore & had discovered nothing.

## HON. JAMES MURRAY

In 1760, while in command at Quebec, he led a force against Montreal, acting under Amherst's orders.

The original oil painting, from which this illustration is made, is in Dr. J. C. Webster's collection. It was painted in London, about 1783, by John Trumbell, and represents Murray with his favourite Arab horse, after his return from Minorca, where he had capitulated to the French.



## FORT LEVIS

On an island in the St. Lawrence.

Captured by Amherst's Army while descending the river on the way to attack Montreal. M. de Pouchot, French Commander, evacuated the fort on August 26, 1760.

—Pouchot's *Memoir Upon the Late War in North America*, Trans. by Hough, 1866.



## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 239

24th. Our Batterys fired with success; the Enemy did not fire. Lt Small arrived from Crown Point, brought me a Letter from Col Haviland of the 7th by which he will set off from Crown Point on the 11th which will very well answer. I set Carpenters to repair the Williamson & Mohawk. At night ordered two whaleboats with an officer of light Infantry as a Guard to the Onondaga. He found two New Yorkers on board who I believe must have been left drunk tho' one was wounded. The Enemy fired only one Shot of Grape at the Vessel. As they did not fire during the day, I ordered our Batterys to decrease their fire a little by day & increase it by night to hinder the Enemy at work, but not to spoil our metal.

25th. Our Battery continued firing with good Success. Col Williamson began to fear his ammunition would fall short, as he has such a quantity on board the Onondaga. I therefore consulted with Lt Sinclair & the Seamen the best method of getting it out by night which was fixed on. In the Afternoon Mons Pouchot put a stop to our Preparations by Beating a Parley and sending me a Letter which I immediately answered & sent him terms of Capitulation by Capt Prescott for him to sign & send back to me, which he did. I ordered Lt Col Massey with three Companys of Grenadiers to take Possession of the Fort, the Garrison being Prisoners of War. I did not permit an Indian to go in. The Garrison that remained consisted of 291 including Officers. 12 men were killed with a Lt of Artillery & 35 were wounded.

Their Artillery consisted of twelve 12-Prs, two 8-Prs, thirteen 4-Prs, four 1 Pr & four Brass 6 Prs, besides several Guns with Trunions broke off, small Arms, and a great quantity of Powder & ball & provisions.

26th. In the morning I began to level the batterys & trenches, set to work to unload the Onondaga of Artillery Stores,

## 240 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

ordered the French Prisoners away to Oswego with an Escort of a Capt and 50 men of Gages for two days, a Sub and 30 Regulars & Sub & 50 Provincials to take them to Oswego, Lt Small to have the care & charge of them, & the Regulars to return from Oswego to joyn the Army. I had the Fort viewed and ordered Timbers for repairs. I cant possibly take a better situation to comand the Lake. As I imagine many Particulars of my passage, the siege of the Fort & Situation of this Country must be agreeable in England, I wrote to Mr Pitt & dispatched Capt Prescott with it.

We lost during the siege, including the 18th, 21 men killed & 23 wounded. The Enemy had 12 killed with an officer of Artillery & 35 wounded. Mons Pouchot dined with me & I intended sending all the Prisoners away in the Afternoon but things were not ready so I ordered their departure the next morning.

27th. I set all to work at the Vessels & cleaning out the Fort. The Ammunition from the Onondaga is a very essential Article & lucky it is not lost. The Indians scratched up the dead bodys and scalped them as if it had been the greatest feast to them. I got the Garrison off about two o'clock.

28th. Got the French Vessel up, a very good new Vessel; carrys 10 Guns. I had workmen cleaning out the Fort, Carpenters repairing the works & the houses in the Fort, & Axe men clearing the Island. I brought the Second Brigade & Lymans Regt from the South Shore to encamp on Isle Gallot. Sr Wm Johnson acquainted me at night of three Indians were come with a message from about thirty who were coming up to joyn us. They would not tell their story till the others came, but Sr Wm picked up from one of them that the Vessels with Governor Murrays Army was arrived at Montreal, so that I

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 241

don't think it unlikely but Mons Vaudreuil may capitulate for the Country. The French Prisoners sat out this morning from Oswegatchi.

29th. I sat all to work at the Fort that could be employed, was in hopes this morning of righting the Onondaga & getting the ammunition but all that could be done was to get everything ready to do it tomorrow. Repairing & stopping holes takes up great time & if we had not found French Anchors, I dont know what we could have done. The Brig likewise cannot be ready till tomorrow. At night Capt Jacobs who was taken with Capt Kennedy came to me. He arrived with Indians from the French & brought me a Letter from a Priest to offer Peace on the Indian side. I meant to get away, but I must first see the Vessels safe or nothing will be done & I shall have nothing to send for provisions.

30th. Everything was ready in the morning for righting the Onondaga but the Anchors would not hold and we were obliged to go another way to work. The work at the Fort going on well, and the Islands where I had fixed my Batterys almost cleared, which I am surprised the Enemy did not do. Sr Wm Johnson all day in conference with the Indians. I ordered half the Army to be ready to march and in the evening ordered Rangers, Gages, Grenadiers, 3 Row Galleys, 2nd Brigade, some light Artillery, Schuylers, Fitch, & Lymans to march tomorrow. Towards night I had a Report the Sloop was coming in. Mr. Barrow the Paymaster arrived & I received some dispatches from England by way of Boston; came by a Man of War. I had a Letter from Mr Pitt of 14th & 20th June; he had received from Halifax a copy of Gov Murrays Letter to me.

31st. It was 12 o'clock before I could get out & with a good deal of trouble found batteaus for all. The Rapids were

## 242 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

not in the least difficult. I went on with Gages & by all I could pick up from my pilot concluded to encamp at Isle au chat about 24 miles from Fort William Augustus.<sup>151</sup> 'Twas 10 o'clock before the last of the Artillery arrived. Some boats staid behind & drew the Provincials into a mistake as they imagined by their boats stopping . . . They remained in Camp there over night & joyned me early next morning. I advanced the two Companies of Rangers & Gages Regt. The Indians that came forward were likewise advanced but Sr Wm Johnson complained of several having staid behind and he believed would return home. I left Capt Osborne with 200 men in the Fort & 215 sick in Hospital at La Gallette.

### *September:*

1st. I sent Scouts on Foot on each side of the Long Seau (Sault) that I might be sure of no Enemy being in ambuscade. I marched about nine, ordered the boats to row in file one by one, wrote to Br Gen Gage to let him know I was going to Point de Maline, that he might come up today or not as he found best. The current of the River was very strong & the Rapids frightful in appearance but not dangerous. I took water several times into the whale boat. All the boats came on safe. I encamped at Point de Maline about 14 miles from Isle au Chat. I sent Partys forward on the Lake to view both coasts & see if there was any appearance of an Enemy. Sr Wm Johnson went to Asquesashne, a small Indian Village, to assure them we would do them no hurt if they remained quiet.

2nd. At nine Br Gen Gage arrived. I ordered the Army to march half after eleven. The last Division cannot be all come up but we shall gain time by going forward & the Rear will get up. I rowed in four Columns 24 miles to La Pointe a

151 The name given to the captured Fort Lévis.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 243

Boudet. 'Twas late at night before the Line came in. Sr Wm Johnson told me he believed near 20 whaleboats of Indians had left him at Fort William Augustus. When I came away I knew nothing of it till I was at the Isle au Chat or I should have sent to have taken their whaleboats away. A Batteau of the 1st Batt of R Highlanders in coming down the Long Seau this morning & keeping too near the shore was staved & a Corporal & three men drowned.

Sr Wm Johnson told me he had found about ten men in Asquesashne & a Priest who promised to remain very quiet & would be very happy to stay there in Peace with the Indians, promising for their good behavior. He said Mons La Corne with 200 men had been six or seven days ago at the Village, come up with an intent to go to Fort Levy or to defend the Rapids of Long Seau, but that hearing the Fort was taken he went back to Montreal. I ordered the Army to be ready to march the next morning but very violent rain & wind came on in the night; luckily our Batteaus were in safe Places. Lake St Francis is very full of Islands, the depth of water not great, so that when there is high wind the Lake is much agitated & my Pilot tells me they sometimes wait five or six days before they can pass it. The Ground on the Islands & Continent appears to be good; it must be very fertile. There is a ridge of Mountains about forty miles on the South, which I take to be the same as I saw on Lake Champlain, which is about 60 miles distant.

3rd. It rained and blew hard all morning so that I could not proceed. I heard there was a Lad at Asquesashne, a Prisoner taken from the Dublin. I desired Sr Wm Johnson to send for him & I wrote to the Priest. A Scout of Indians that went to the Cedars returned with a Prisoner, un Notaire Royal,

## 244 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

who acquainted me the Isle au noix was taken. Mons La Corne was with 400 men at the Cedars but on his advanced Party reporting to him last night they had seen our batteaus he marched off early this morning to Montreal. He said Br Murray was at some distance from the Town.

4th. I marched a little after day break in one Column by the Right as the greatest Part of the Rapids I had to pass could be only passed with one boat abreast. The Pilots assured me it was very unusual to find so much water in the River yet we found it very bad & difficult to pass tho' the boats were made lighter by putting most of the men on Shore who marched by Land from the Cedars to the end of the cascades. The weather favoured but the Rapids cost us dear, notwithstanding every Corps had a Pilot. Several had two & the Pilots (were) sent back as fast as the batteaus passed. We lost 84 men, 20 batteaus of Regts, 17 of Artillery, 17 whaleboats, one Row Galley, a quantity of Artillery Stores & some Guns that I hope may be recovered. By the time the 2nd Brigade of Regulars had passed the Cascades it was too late for more to proceed, so I encamped the Rangers, Gages, light Infantry, Grenadiers, 1st & 2nd Brigade of Regulars at the Isle Perrot near a League from the Cascades, and I reckon 30 miles from La Pointe a Boudet. The Provincials remained at the Cedars, and I left a Guard of 150 Regulars & Provincials under Capt Moncrief. The Inhabitants of Isle Perrot had all run away & hid but they came in by degrees & gave themselves up & not a Soul was killed by our Savages. Several from the Island of Montreal likewise came in & I assured them all of my Protection as long as they remained quiet.

5th. In the morning the Provincials began to come in and several Artillery batteaus. I saved all the Cattle, Sheep &c

for the Inhabitants who signed a paper for their good behavior & came in from the woods. My boats & the time it took to bring the Provincials & Rear up, put it out of my Power to proceed this day. At night Lt Elliot came from St Johns with a Letter from Col Haviland. I wrote to Gen Murray.

6th. At day break the General beat & in half an hour the Army was in the boats. I rowed in four Columns . . . we had a fine day & I rowed down to La Chine on the Island of Montreal just above the Seau de St Louis. Here I landed without any other opposition than some Volunteers and a sort of Cavalry who run into Montreal after a very few Shots. I formed the advanced Guard and first Column to cover the landing of the Troops, & not to lose any time in the disposition I had formed them through the Country, while the Brigades marched along the Road by the River side. I made the most of the day I could, to get into the open Ground in view of the Town where I formed the Troops & lay on our Arms all night. The distance of La Chine from Isle Perrot is 3 Leagues & from La Chine to where I encamped above two leagues. I left Woosters & Fitchs Regts to guard my batteaus. The three New York Regts likewise remained with the Artillery. I got up five 3-Pounders, five 6-Pounders, two 12- and two Hautwitzers this night. The Cavalry had broke up a bridge but I easily repaired it and the Troops marched over it. I was out at night viewing the Ground as much as the night would permit me.

7th. At day break the whole stood to their Arms. I wrote to Br Gen Murray. As I was riding about I had a Report from the advanced Guard that two Officers were sent from Mons de Vaudreuil to speak to me. I sent Major Abercrombie to see what it was, and on his telling me Mons Le Colonel Bougainville had a message to me I went there. He had a Letter from

## 246 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Mons de Vaudreuil referring me to what Col Bougainville had to say, which was very modest, to desire a Cessation of Arms till Mons Vaudreuil, who expected a courier, should know whether or not there was a peace. This of course I refused & said I was come to take Canada and I did not intend to take anything less. If Mons Vaudreuil had any proposals to make, desired he would write them down. He then demanded a Cessation till twelve o'clock, which I agreed to but on one condition that it was not to affect the motions of Br. Murrays and Col Havilands Armys. Mons Bougainville left a Capt of La Reine and I sent Capt Dalyel into Town. At twelve the proposals came, which I altered and sent back, and wrote to Mons de Vaudreuil. This was followed by another Letter from Mons de Vaudreuil desiring Col Bougainville might speak to me. That I refused and wrote an answer. I then had a Letter from Mons de Levis who I wrote to in the same terms I had done before. This took up the night.

8th. At day break I received a Letter from Mons Vaudreuil. He was determined to sign the Articles I had offered to him and I sent Major Abercrombie to Town for them. During the Cessation nothing was done but bringing some batteaus from La Chine by Pilots to the Right of my Camp, and last night I made a little alteration in the Posts and got Artillery up to the Hill above the Town. Major Christie and Lt Prenzel arrived from Col Haviland. He is within one days march of Longueil, where Major Christie thinks Major Rogers may be arrived. Capt Malone arrived from Br Murray. Mons Levis acquainted him yesterday I had granted a Cessation of Arms. This Mons Levis ought not to have done, as I particularly declared the Cessation was not to have any effect on the motions of Gov Murrays or Col Havilands Army. I sent Gov Murray to acquaint him of what Capitulation I had made. He passed

the River & landed on the Island yesterday. I ordered the light Infantry & Grenadiers under the comand of Col Haldimand to take possession of the Town. It was the Afternoon before the Capitulation was copyed and that I signed it. I wrote to the Marquis de Vaudreuil & sent the Capitulation. Col Haldimand took possession. I wrote to Mr Pitt to acquaint him of the progress of His Majesty's Army and to Lord Colvill about sending the French Troops to France. Part of Col Havilands Corps came to Longueil. Gov Murray & Col Haviland came to me.

I believe never three Armys, setting out from different & very distant Parts from each other joyned in the Center, as was intended, better than we did, and it could not fail of having the effect of which I have just now seen the consequence.

9th. It was daybreak before Major Barré sat out with my dispatches to England, and the writing all night tired me more than the sitting up two nights before. I sent all the necessary Officers into Town to take inventory & settle every-thing. I ordered all the Provincial Troops to march back tomorrow to Chambly & proceed to Crown Point to go on with the works; gave them batteaus to carry tents & baggage.

10th. The Provincial Troops of Col Havilands Corps marched under comand of Col Ruggles to Crown Point. I fixed one Batt of Connecticut to finish the works at Fort Stanwix, three other Regts of Connecticut to Fort Ontario to finish there, & the new Jersey and New York Troops to Fort William Augustus to finish there. Col Whiting with his own Regt to go to Fort Stanwix & Capt Lt Williams Engineer to direct the works. Gen Lyman to command at Fort Ontario & Capt Sowers to direct the works. Col Schuyler to command at Fort William Augustus & Capt Williamson to direct the works.

## 248 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

I dined with the Marquis de Vaudreuil; was very civilly received and he appeared to be very communicative, talked of his Situation, of what he had asked from France, of the impossibility of his defending himself against three such Armys, of the Satisfaction he had in the treatment he had met. I went in the Afternoon to Gov Murrays Camp just before the Town. I made the best disposition I could for getting away the French Regts as fast as possible. Mons de Levis did not come to Mr Vaudreuil. I find he & some others are very angry at being obliged not to serve during the War, but they laid down their Arms in a very decent way. Had no Colours, and the comand-ing officers gave their word of Honour the Troops had none when they capitulated; that they had brought Colours here six years ago, found them troublesome in this Country, that they were quite torn and they had destroyed them. I made all the enquiry I could about this. It would be so scandalous for them to hide them after what they have said that I must believe them. Col Haldimand sent me two Colours that had been taken at Oswego.

11th. The Marquis de Vaudreuil came & dined with me in Camp with Major Gen Dumas.<sup>152</sup> I had the Line turned out. He read me the Letter he had received from the Ministers in answer to his that he had sent by Mr Mercier the Engineer, who arrived in France the 25th Dec with five vessels that got by Quebec. The minister therein tells him that he would send the Vessels with stores &c, that came to the Bay des Chaleur, that he must defend the Country till August, when he might be assured

152 JEAN DANIEL DUMAS: Came to Canada, in 1750, as Captain in La Marine. Commanded a year at Fort Gaspereaux, Chignecto. In 1755 at Fort DuQuesne; fought against Braddock. Had great influence with Indians. In 1757 fought at Fort William Henry. In 1759, Major-General Inspector of troops of La Marine, with rank of Colonel; fought at Quebec. At Montreal when it capitulated. Returned to France. In 1768 made Brig.-Gen.



### MONTREAL IN 1760

This is the earliest known view of Montreal and surroundings.

*From a fine engraving in Dr. J. C. Webster's collection after a sketch made by an officer in Amherst's army*



## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 249

there would be a peace, and that the King depended upon his zeal, &c. I believe he read me this Letter to account for his asking a Cessation of Arms till a Courier that he expected arrived. Gen Lyman marched with his comand. Col Schuyler cant get away till tomorrow.

### LIST OF THE FRENCH TROOPS

La Reine	417
La Sarre	276
Royal Roussillon	329
Languedoc	382
Guienne	297
1re Batt de Berry	362
2e Battn de Berry	410
Bearn	408
2 Battns of La Marine	1013

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3894

In the above list women & all included.

### RECAPITULATION.

Lt Col Comandant	8
Aides Major	5
Capitaines	74
Lieut et sous Lieut	94
Chirurgion Major	5
Sergeants & Soldats presents	2384
Femmes et Enfants	138
Domestique	173

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2881

## 250 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

### Officiers d'etat Major et autres

Persones avec Le Chev de Levis 31

Domestiques 64

Canoniers 15

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2991

La Marine Officiers 63

Domestiques 63

Soldats 844

Femmes 30

Enfants 13

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1013

Total 4004.

## IX

September 12, 1760, to June 8, 1761

This Section describes the establishment of British rule, the forwarding of the French troops to Europe, Amherst's visit to Quebec, his departure for New York by way of the Richelieu river and Lake Champlain.

### *September:*

12th. I sent a messenger to New York for Col Montgomery to proceed with the Regts or the parts of the Regts under his command to Halifax. Wrote to Br Gen Monckton & ordered Major Rogers with two Companys of Rangers to go to him to assist in relieving the Posts Myamis, Fort Detroit, St Joseph, Michimichinak,<sup>153</sup> &c. I sent an Engineer Lt Brehme to explore the country & Lt Davis of the Artillery to take a view of Niagara Falls . . .

13th. Troops marched about 8 o'clock by platoons from the left & encamped on a fine rising ground near the Town. I got a list of the transports with the tonnage & immediately allotted the Regts to their vessels, & sent to Col Haldimand to try to get as many on board as he can. An officer with a party arrived from Fort Detroit with canoes loaded with skins. He had been 40 days coming down the Ottawa river, so full of Falls, so difficult and round about a route. The French have been obliged to take this way since we have Niagara.

14th. Got two of the French Battns on board. I sent Lt Meredith with a party to take a clear view of the communi-

153 Michilimakinac.

## 252 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

cation from this to Lake Champlain by the Chatougaï & Chate Rivers. Wrote to the Governors of New York, Boston & New Hampshire to desire their encouraging provisions to be sent here. Wrote to Lord Colvill that the transports here couldn't take the whole number of prisoners, that there would be 1400 more than could be embarked in the transports, desired he would provide them at Quebec or take them in such men of wars as were ordered to England. The whole to embark, of the Light Battns of Regulars & two La Marine, amounted to 4004.

Le Chevalier de Levis shewed Col Haldimand his disposition at the Battle of Quebec, the number of his troops being 6026. He said he did not intend to besiege Quebec, for he was not in a situation to undertake it. He marched there to receive the succours expected from France, but when he had gained such a victory he could do not less than try to take the place. He never imagined Gov Murray would have attacked him, that he would have beat him if he had supported the attack of the Light Infantry, which fell on the left of the Corps which was formed & would have hindered the other troops from marching up.

15th. Got the two Battns of Berry & La Marine on board. Fixed on the Corps for the several Garrisons this winter. Everything going on very quietly in embarking the French troops. Sent Officers to the several villages to tender the Oath of Allegiance and take in the Arms. Mons Bourlemaque made me a visit, wanted that Mons de Levis, himself, and Etat Major might be excepted from the terms of the Cartel & permitted to serve. I told him it was not in my power to make any change.

16th. Appointed Col Burton<sup>154</sup> to be Governor of Three

<sup>154</sup> RALPH BURTON: Lieut.-Colonel of the 48th Foot and wounded in Braddock's defeat. Commanded the 3rd Brigade at Louisbourg, 1758; at Quebec, 1759, commanded the reserve and was wounded. Commanded 1st Brigade under Murray in advance against Montreal, 1760.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 253

Rivers. Called the commanding Officers together to tell them the destinations of their Regts. Ordered eight months provisions for 5000 men from Quebec.

17th. Everything on board but Mons de Vaudreuil. The Garrison of Quebec sat out likewise this day. I hope the vessels will sail soon that we may be clear of the French troops. By a letter from Quebec I heard the French had 1100 men at the Bay de Chaleurs. Mons Vaudreuil thinks they are got back to France. However, he sent an Officer with orders to the Commanding Officer to give up his Arms according to the Cartel & I ordered a Major & 150 men from Quebec to put the orders in execution. Wrote to Lord Colvill to send transports & a man of war.

18th. The Regts drew for their Quarters. I put the 1st Royal Highland Battn in the town. I went to take leave of the Marquis & Marquise de Vaudreuil. Ordered Oughtons & Gages to march tomorrow, the first to Ontario, the second to Fort William Augustus.

19th. Mons & Madame Vaudreuil made me a visit in the afternoon; were very civil. As the Quebec garrison was all gone Governor Murray is to set out for Quebec tomorrow. I ordered all the Militia of the town & suburbs to be out and deliver up their Arms & take the Oath of Allegiance, so soon as the Marquis is gone.

Col Montgomerys 8 companys crossed the water to go to Crown Point.

20th. Mons Vaudreuil & family went on board. Sent Whitmores Regt over the river to joyn Col Haviland. Ordered the 1st Battn of R Highlanders & 4th Battn to march into their Quarters tomorrow.

## 254 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

21st. I had information of several of our deserters & sent partys after them. Ordered Col Haviland to take the Inniskillings & Whitmores to Crown Point, leaving a sufficient number of men at Chambly, St Johns & Isle au Noix till I shall relieve them by troops from here. The wind so contrary the Marquis de Vaudreuil could not go down the river.

22nd. I ordered the 2nd Battn of R Highlanders into their Quarters, & Abercrombys & Murrays to cross the water & encamp on the other side till the Officers return with the report of their Quarters. I gave Gen Gage his instructions, and gave out a Proclamation of my having appointed him Governor, & several things that I imagined right to be made publick. I went into town to Mons Vaudreuils house as I had delivered to Sr Wm Johnson as many things for the Indians out of the stores as he thought necessary, and (to see) that every thing was settled with the French Indians who delivered up all prisoners.

I ordered our Indians home. The priest of Asquisashna came to me in the evening. The inhabitants of Crown Point wanted to go back, but I would not permit them. If Canada should be restored they will be dangerous English subjects.

23rd. I went round the works of the town and to see the citadel, which I had ordered to be fitted up & which will do extremely well. I went over the Island of St Helens, where the Enemy had taken much pains to erect Batteries, entrenching themselves & rendering it as strong as they could, supposing the Army would come by La Prairie & land on that Island; or if the Army came up the river they would land on that Island. They had all the English guns that were taken at Quebec on the Batterys.

I had a letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil that his vessel had run aground ten leagues down the river & he wanted

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 255

help. I ordered the schooner down that was prepared for me to go to Quebec.

24th. I sat out early & went about 3 leagues cross the Island to the Sault des Recollets. Roads very bad. Center of the Island all wood; fine ground by the riverside. I went about a league down the river & crossed to the Island of Jesus, a very fine island, well settled. Then crossed to the Riviere des Prairie & passed the Island by St Leonard to the Point de Tremble.

The inhabitants live comfortably. Most have stone houses. Their lots were 3 acres in breadth by the river and 15 or 20 in length. They now seem to have plenty of cattle, but by what I hear, where a farmer has two or three cows, as many oxen, & ten or twelve sheep, before the war, they had four times the number, for they abounded in cattle. They have horses in plenty, good for draft but very bad for the saddle.

25th. I went to visit Les Soers Religieuses and les Soers de la Congregation. The first take charge and care of all our sick & are very good nurses. I never saw any sick better attended. I sent them a present of 200 Crowns and two dozen of Madeira, as they told me they had no wine. I likewise paid a visit to the Superior of the Church.

26th. I intended to set out this morning, but my knee was bad & the weather far from good.

27th. I sat out intending to go to Three Rivers, but could only reach Berthier, which is 15 Leagues from Montreal, the wind being contrary. The river and country is very fine. When I came to St Ours & La Norage the country is not so cleared as higher up. The Churches in the villages are almost alike & not ugly buildings. You see houses at small distances from each other the whole way. The country flat, but not marshy.

## 256 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

There are only the Mountains of Montreal, Boucherville, Chambly & St Johns. That of Montreal you lost sight of at St Sulpice. I lay at the Captain of Militia his house.

28th. I sat out early, rowed all day & arrived at eight at night at Trois Rivieres, 15 leagues from Berthier. Passing Lake St Peters was very pleasant tho' it is not to be compared to Lake St Francis. The first is only a sheet of water & the other is beautified with a number of pretty islands. We saw some vessels off the Sorel, which proved to be where the Marquis de Vaudreuil is on board.

29th. It rained all day. I stayed with Col Burton.

30th. I went with Col Burton 3 leagues to the Iron Forges at St Maurice, where a number of people are established at the King's expence, and have earned their living very well. They are, however, out of repair, but as there is a great deal of ore ready & the people will earn their Pay by the produce of the iron, I keep it up, and it may be improved or dropt hereafter. These Forges were established about 25 years since. The ore is carried 3 miles & the iron is very good.

Trois Rivieres is a very pleasant situation, a dry sandy soil and a pretty village. The Governor's house good. The French have been at great pains in throwing up Lines and making Redoutes which are of very little consequence.

### *October:*

1st. I sat out early, but the wind being very contrary I could only reach the beginning of the Parish of Batiskon on the Champlain river 5 leagues from Trois Rivieres. I lay at Capt des Cote's house.

2nd. I was out at two in the morning as the wind was abated. Landed at Deschambeau, the place best situated for a

Post of any I have seen on the river. I landed again at Jacques Cartier and walked over the works there, where the Enemy had been at a great of pains to make a work of no consequence. They had 17 guns in it. The Post is naturally very strong to defend the passage of the Jacques Cartier river or to hinder any troops coming up on the shore. But when you land above it, the high Grounds command it, and it must fall. The Enemy capitulated on Col Frasers coming up the river, but they were before included in the Capitulation for the Country. I went to day 14 leagues and lay at St Jean Baptiste, called Les Ecurais.

3rd. I was out at three in the morning and arrived at Quebec at eight, 9 leagues from Les Ecurais, breakfasted with Gov Murray, walked over the town, a heap of ruins indeed. I then rid out to the Heights of Abraham to see the Ground where Mr Wolf's Action was, as likewise where Gov Murray's was, and the Lines the French had afterwards thrown up. Gov Murray explained to me so clearly that I could not have known it better had I been on the spot. I went to St Foy and returned by the Lorette Road. In the afternoon went round the Ramparts.

4th. I saw Lord Colvill & asked if he would send any vessels to the Mississippi in case I should make an expedition that way, but he thought it not practicable with the ships here. Settled everything for the transportation of the French troops, & as Lord Colvill had made the distribution of his Fleet by which he takes the Northumberland, three fiftys, three Frigates and two Sloops to Halifax, and sends all the other large Ships to England, which help take over the French Troops. I desired him to dispatch one directly that I might send duplicates & a letter to Mr Pitt.

## 258 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

I crossed the Charles river, went the road over the little river & across Beauport river to the Redoute that was attacked by the Grenadiers. Saw all the Lines to the Montmorency, and the French Battery above the Falls; went about two miles to the ford up the river, where Mons de Repentigny was posted, & where the affair happened with Otways Regt. I did not cross the Montmorency but saw plainly the situation of Mr Wolf's Camp, the Island of Orleans & Point Levis. The Enemy had no Camp near the Montmorency as our Artillery commanded entirely. They were encamped back, had guards in the Lines from Montmorency towards Beauport. A few guards at the Montmorency. Repentignys Post, their whole dependence there, and the troops of the Camp were required to be ready to march. A vast Front to defend. The Ford where Repentigny was is passable and the ground from thence to the French Camp, which would have taken the Lines in Reverse, was practicable through the woods.

Near the Falls, almost on the left of the Enemys Trenches there is a passage up, and an attack might have been carried on there. The Grenadier Fort is the strongest Post. A false attack there and the other two real would not probably have failed, but landing above the town appears the easiest & most effective method.

5th. I went on board Lord Colvill who had ordered Capt Parry in the Kingston to take my dispatches I crossed to our batterys on the Point des Peres & walked to Point Levis Church where Br. Monckton was encamped. The prospect from this point very fine and the Sault of the Montmorency looks very pretty.

I gave Gov Murray his Instruction, raising £30,000 for the subsistence of the Troops, which he will borrow from the

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 259

English merchants, and everything being settled for this Government, I sat out & reached Point au Tremble, 7 leagues from Quebec, staid there till one in the morning, when the tide favored again.

6th.           Proceeded along the South shore to Duhaillon, crossed the river, passing the French troops who lay at anchor in 22 vessels off the Batiskan, and at seven at night I arrived at the Champlain River & lay at the same house as on going down.

7th.           Sat out at daybreak & passed Trois Rivieres. Gov Burton came on board. I got into Lake St Peters & to Nicolet about 8 at night. Lodged at the Cure's. As I went down on the North shore I now return on the South.

8th.           I had very fine weather to cross the Lake and arrived at Sorel ten leagues from Nicolet at seven at night.

9th.           I went round the works that had been attempted to be made at Sorel, the poorest things I ever saw. I went 4 leagues to St Ours, 3 leagues to St Antoine & St Denis, & 2 leagues to St Charles, arrived at 7 at night.

10th.          Went up the river leaving the mountains of Chambly half a league on the left, and that of Boucherville on the right. The other mountain beyond Chambly is called Rochmond. Went 6 leagues to Chambly where I met Gen Gage.

11th.          Went 2 leagues to St Therese, the Carrying place from Chambly. The boats are hauled up empty about a mile and when there is much water in the river they go down loaded. From St. Therese I went 2 leagues further to St Johns in whale-boats. There is one Rapid near St Johns but of no consequence. Col Haviland had thrown up a work at St Therese, and the French had thrown up one at St Johns and had begun the Ditch of a large square Fort, but they burnt the old Fort & Buildings after Isle au Noix was taken.

## 260 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

I went on board a schooner at St Johns.

12th. Sailed 5 leagues to the Isle aux Noix. Went on shore and viewed the whole Island, where the Enemy had been at great pains in making works. I likewise viewed the Batterys Col Haviland had raised on the east coast, and from the situation of the island I thought it better to destroy the works & take all the Artillery, Stores &c to Crown Point. I gave Col Thomas, who had 200 Provincials with him orders accordingly. Gen Gage went back to St Johns & I sailed for Crown Point. Arrived at a very small island three miles from Isle au Noix where Col Haviland had established his Hospital. Above this is a long island with a narrow channel between it & the east coast; We anchored just above it.

13th. I went out in a whale boat to view both coasts to the Point au Moulin & Point au Fer. There is one very small island about half a mile above. These three islands are the only ones between the Isle au Noix & Point au Fer, excepting a little bit of land just above the Isle au Noix, which can scarcely be called an island.

14th. At day break we sat sail & went two or three leagues p hour and passed the Narrows just as it grew dark and arrived near Crown Point at night.

15th. I went on shore at day break and walked around the works. I thought more had been done than what I find is finished. Col Haviland shewed me Col Bougainville's letter to the Officer to give up the Isle au Noix, dated the 27th August, by which he says he has received orders to abandon it. This must have been from intelligence that Mons de Vaudreuil received of Fort Levis being taken on the 25th.

16th. I rid round all the enclosures . . . & sat all the men to work that no time may be lost before the winter comes on.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 261

17th. I sent away 150 French prisoners to New York under the care of Capt Pringle that they may be sent to France.

18th. I received a duplicate of Mr Pitts letter of July 23rd & from Lord Barrington that a reinforcement of 2000 men was coming from England to America.

19th. Sent an Officer & ten Rangers to Isle au Noix, a Sergt & 9 men to St Johns to keep the communication up during the winter. Sent Mr Munro to Ticonderoga to see what sick there are which must be sent home.

21st. It snowed and froze at night. I went up a creek about eight miles down the Lake to pull a beaver dam & house to pieces to see the contexture of it, which was very curious. They had been lately at work & had cut down several small trees.

22nd. 200 Canadians arrived with Mons de la Broquerie & other officers. I sent them to their homes.

23rd. I sent away about 500 Provincials by way of No 4. They are so poorly they can do no work . . . It froze hard last night.

24th. I sent away three detachments to garrison Fort Miller, Saratoga & Stillwater. I sent all the invalids of the 27th that must be discharged & sent to England, with the invalids of the Provincials that must go by Albany.

25th. I ordered all the Rangers away to morrow, some by No 4, & the rest by Albany, to pay them off & get rid of the expence so soon as possible . . .

26th. As I have settled everything here and given Col Haviland his Orders I think it best to get to Albany to pay off the Rangers, and settle the accounts of the other Provincials.

27th. I sat out in the French Grand Diable to try what sort of a boat it is & I think it not near so good as our Row

## 262 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Galleys. The wind being contrary I did not arrive at Ticonderoga till eight at night.

28th. Out at daybreak. After having visited the Fort & works, crossed the Landing, got into a batteau at nine & rowed all day, the wind being contrary. Twas eleven at night when I arrived at Fort George.

29th. Saw the works at Fort George & went to Fort Edward. The bastion enclosed at Fort George is very neat, mounts 15 Guns, is very small and a bad defence, but 'twas the shortest, cheapest & best method of finishing what was begun of the Fort, as completing the whole according to the first plan is not necessary & would have cost a large sum.

30th. I went to Saratoga. Left Fort Miller on the left and went along the new road, which is a very good one.

31st. I went to Stillwater.

### *November:*

1st. I went to Albany. On the road met Capt Bayard who came express from Halifax with an account of the death of Br Gen Lawrence on Oct 19th after four days illness.

2nd. Received a letter from Br Monckton that Major Rogers was arrived with him. News from New York that the King of Prussia had gained a victory at Lignitz. We had fine weather the beginning of this month with little frost, but not enough to hinder the works going on. I however heard the Provincials were very sickly. Great numbers passed from the Mohawk river who were poorly. I wrote to Mr Mortier to bring what money he could to pay off the Provincials their billeting money, to clear the Accounts of the artificers at the several Forts, to discharge the seamen, batteau men, waggoners & teamsters & clear the accounts of the

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 263

7th Campaign . . . Sent Capt Dalyell to the President of New York & Governor of the Jerseys for application for the 2000 men of Vaughans to be quartered, 1500 in the Jerseys, 500 on Long Island.

10th. The Provincials from Fort Stanwix & Oswego coming in daily. They did not wait for Col Schuylers passing first as I ordered.

13th. Lt Col Maitland came from Boston with eight Transports loaded with Artillery, Stores & Clothing for Quebec, which had parted company and he passed at Halifax & Boston.

15th. Major Campbell of Frasers & Lt Calder arrived from Quebec. A letter from Gov Murray says most of the French troops under convoy of Capt Swanton sailed the 22nd Oct., Mons Vaudreuil of the number. On the 26th the last sailed. Col Schuyler arrived, who brought up the Rear of the Provincials . . . He gives a very bad account of the irregularities of the New York troops.

17th. Col Corsa told me he had lost in his Regt of drowned, killed and died, 89 men. I reckon above half the Provincials who are lost are by mere negligence.

19th. As I had settled most of the accounts of the Campaign & paid away all the money Mr Mortier brought, I determined on going to New York.

21st. I sat out for Kindershook on foot, found the Sloop for fear of being froze in had gone down to Claverack.

22nd. I went to Claverack. My baggage not having arrived in the Scow from Albany staid at Mr Fundys the night.

23rd. I sat off in Mr Kilbys sloop but could make but little way. A good deal of floating ice in the river . . . The wind

## 264 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

continued contrary till the 25th when it sprung up fair and we passed the Highlands in the night.

26th. In the morning I landed at Greenwich & walked to New York, where I met with a very kind reception.

Br Monckton wrote me the Provinces of Virginia & Maryland would give no men & he did not expect any from Pennsylvania, so that we wanted some for the communications to the advanced Posts. I therefore ordered Vaughans to Philadelphia, and the 12 Independent Companys to be ready for immediate service, that I may send the best of them to Carolina.

### *December:*

3rd. Capt Carter arrived from the Bay des Chaleurs with 41 men. He had lost company with Major Elliot who is coming to New York with the remains of the detachment, as they could not get up the River St Lawrence. They left Ristigouche Nov. 5th. The French sent home according to the Cartel.

25th. The Thornton Transport arrived from Louisburg loaded with Ordnance stores for Quebec. She could not get up the river so came here. I ordered her to be unloaded and discharged immediately to save expence to the government.

1761:

### *January:*

17th. The King was proclaimed. (Geo. III).

18th. I had letters from Capt Campbell & Col Bouquet, informing me that Major Rogers arrived Nov 29th at Detroit with the loss of one man who fell overboard. A deputation from all the Indian Nations met him. Mons Bellestre<sup>155</sup> the commanding Officer of the Fort would not at first credit that Detroit

155 Captain Beletre.

was included in the Capitulation, but on receiving Mons Vaudreuil's letter he directly gave up the Fort.

Major Rogers was preparing to bring in the French troops from the other Posts as far as the season would permit. All the inhabitants gave up their arms & took the oath of Allegiance. Mons Bellestre with two officers & 35 privates, the garrison of Detroit, arrived at Pittsburg Dec 24th escorted by Lt Holmes & a Party of Rangers. I ordered them to New York.

*February:*

4th. Captain Bellestre & Messieurs de Nuit and Vercheres with the soldiers of the garrison of Detroit arrived. Mons Bellestre told me there were about 1000 souls in Detroit. They had about 3000 packs of skins there as there had been no opportunity of selling them since Niagara was taken.

12th. I had a letter from Col Grant that the troops arrived safely at Carolina the 9th & 10th Jan. The four companys of the Royals sickly, but the climate cannot be very mortal as the Royals have lost but three men by natural death since they have been in the Province.

14th. Major Rogers & Lt Brehme arrived. They left Fort Detroit Dec 23rd. Rogers had tryed to get to Michillimackinac but the lake began to be so full of ice he was forced to return to Detroit.

*May:*

3rd. The Men of war & Transports with 8 Companys of Whitmores, 9 of Montgomerys, Vaughans Regt, a Subaltern & 14 men of Artillery, with two Companys of Rangers, viz., Waits & Ogdens, making with Capt McKenna's detachment from Carolina 2115 men, sailed from the Hook to Guadeloupe.

## 266 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

4th. As I had a day to myself I sat out to the Rysneck or Totowa Falls. Went by water to Elizabeth Town Point, which they call 18 miles, and arrived there at 10 o'clock. Then went in a waggon 11 miles to Col Peter Schuylers, which lays on second river. Crossed the river to see his House and Park, the only Park in this country enclosed with a log fence—a pretty situation. Repassed the river & went 16 miles further to the Rysnick Falls. The country is inhabited the whole way. We got in good time to take the view of the Falls from the N.W., and the next morning we took them from the S.E. I got back to New York the night of the 10th.

19th. I dined at Gen Moncktons . . . I sat out in the afternoon (for Albany).

25th. Arrived at Albany. Three Companys of New Yorkers only arrived. The Companys raised at Albany & Schenectady have no bounty, money or clothing, so will do nothing.

### *June:*

3rd. The clothing & bounty money for the three New York Companys arrived but one of the Companys was not half complete & the officers all recruiting.

8th. Only one Company of Lymans yet arrived. Not a man from the Jerseys or Massachusetts & very few from New York. About 300 Rhode Islanders are come, which I have sent to Fort Stanwix. I concluded to send all the Massachusetts (except 1000 ordered to Halifax) to Crown Point, where the New Hampshire & Connecticut also are to go, to finish the works there and make some repairs at Ticonderoga. The New Yorkers go to Oswego with the Jersey troops to finish the works there & give some men to Niagara & Fort William Augustus to put those places in thorough repair.

# THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 267

## PROVINCIAL TROOPS FOR 1761

<i>Colony</i>	<i>Numbers demanded</i>	<i>Numbers voted</i>
New York	1787	1787
New Jersey	666	600
Connecticut	3332	2300
Rhode Island	666	666
Massachusetts	3332	2220
New Hampshire	666	534
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	10449	9107
Virginia raised		1000
Carolina raised		500

The Provincials arrived very slowly, but I forwarded them to their destinations without leaving them a moment at Albany; 'twas the 16th July before the first Company of Massachusetts arrived.

### *Sloops for Lake Erie:*

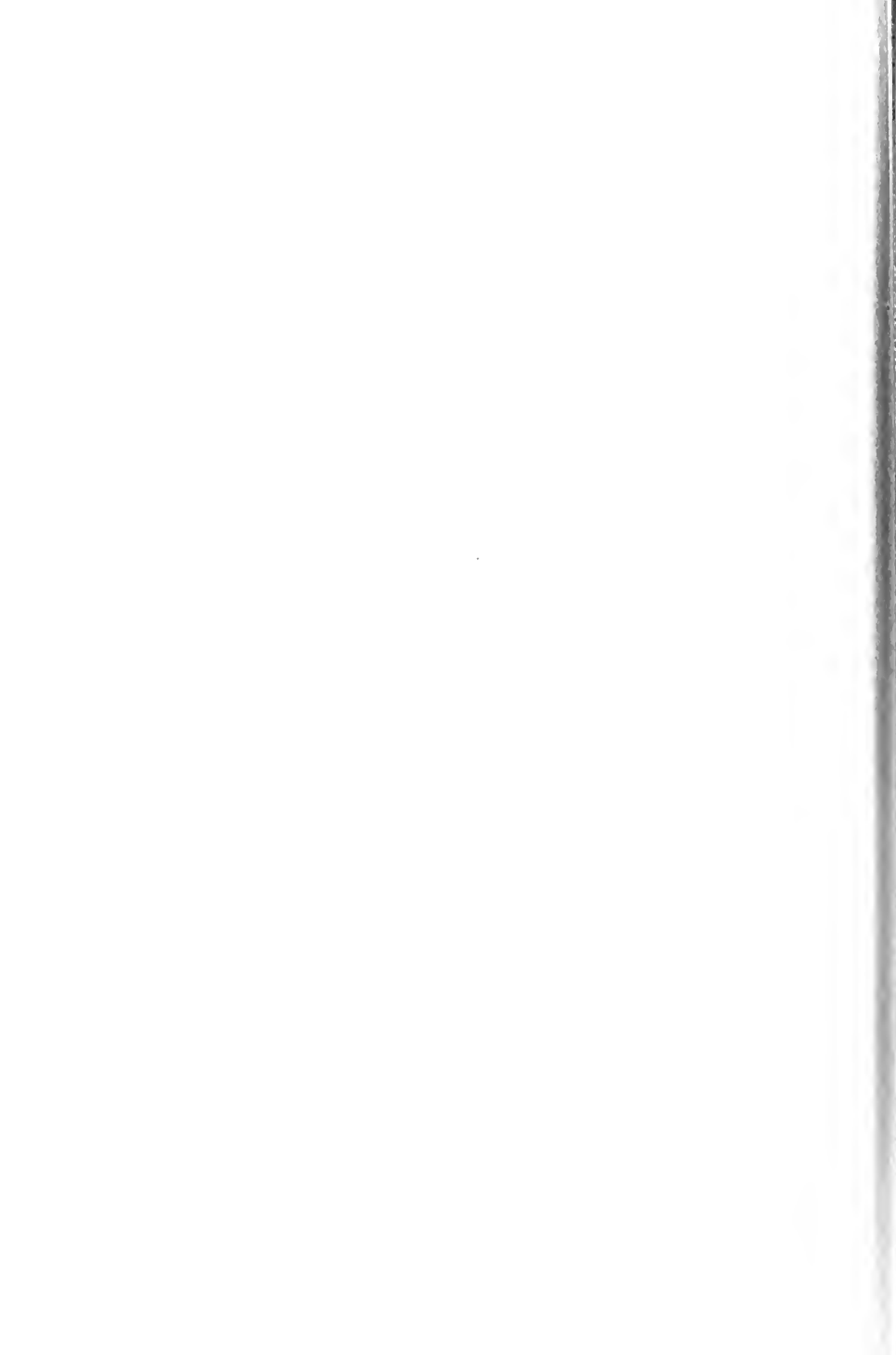
1st 6 4-Pounders, 8 Swivels.

2nd 4, 4-Pounders, 6 Swivels

The first Sloop to be a good deal larger than the other. Major Gladwin to go with these vessels to explore Lakes Erie, Huron, Superior and Michigan.

Sr Wm Johnson to go to Detroit, as I cannot be absent at present. Sr Wm will settle all matters with the upper Indians.

Major Gladwin will take 300 men with him. I shall reinforce Capt Campbell at Detroit with some men from Niagara that the outposts may be all properly garrisoned.



## X

### July 19, 1761, to February 27, 1763

This Section gives details of Amherst's duties, and visits, reports in regard to the Cherokee War, Monckton's expedition which left New York for Martinique on Nov. 15, 1761, and that commanded by Lieut.-Col. Wm. Amherst sent to recapture St. John's, Newfoundland, from the French, in August, 1762.

1761:

*July:*

19th. Four of Oughtons Companys marched; two to Crown Point, one to Fort George, one to Fort Edward. A fifth company remained in Albany.

20th. The light companys of 40th Regt. marched on to Albany, embarked on board Sloops and sailed for the Camp to be formed on Staten Island which Lieut. Col. Robertson is gone to mark out.

22nd. The 5th Battn. of Royal Highlanders marched in and embarked for Staten Island, the Battn. looked very well.

25th. A letter from Lord Rollo of his taking Dominique June 6th.

30th. My Regt. the 15th marched in, embark'd, and sailed for Staten Island.

## 270 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

31st. Letters from Lt Col. Grant of his success against the Cherokees.<sup>156</sup>

### *August:*

4th. Otways marched in and embarked.

7th. Townshend marched in and embarked; the Regt weak but looked well.

11th. Webbs marched in and embarked; the Regt well appointed. Looked well.

12th. Talbots marched in & embarked; the men looked well.

18th. Havilands the 3rd Bn. of Royal Americans marched in and embarked, badly appointed; the Battn strong in numbers but looked not very well.

19th. I went to Half Moon and Half Way House to Stillwater. Forded the Hudson river to van Antwerp & went to Scorticook. The inhabitants all settled, ploughing their ground and repairing their houses. It is a pretty flat about

156 CHEROKEE WAR: The Cherokee Indians, who inhabited a large territory in Georgia, the Carolinas and adjoining districts had aided the British in the northern colonies during the conflict with the French. When the war ended, the Indians, on returning to their homes, committed depredations in Western Virginia and other territory through which they passed.

Governor Lyttleton of Georgia at once prepared to attack them. The Cherokees, who wished to remain on friendly terms, sent thirty-two chiefs to settle the trouble. Lyttleton made them prisoners and treated them harshly. This stirred up the whole nation and war resulted. Lyttleton departed to become Governor of Jamaica, and was succeeded by Governor Bull. The war was long and difficult owing to the troubles encountered by the British forces in penetrating the country.

Lieut.-Colonel Francis Grant, of the 42nd regiment, was sent by Amherst to take charge of the forces engaged with the Indians. Under him served Major Grant of Ballendalloch, with four companies of the 77th regiment (Montgomery's). There was also a body of provincial troops. Peace was not made until 1761.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 271

two miles from the Hudson river ; has a fine River running thro the settlement, that falls into the Hudson River. There are twenty families on the Flat, which contains about five hundred acres of ground and they appear to be more industrious than in any place I have seen. As I returned to Albany I went from the Half Moon a mile and a half up the right side of the Mohawk River to see the falls from that side. The River was very low, yet, notwithstanding, the falls very fine.

22nd. I sat out for New York by the West side of the River. Went 24 miles to Cooksackey ; lay at Justice Hasenbieks. The road from Albany to Cooksachey might be made good. To Lowman's which is twenty miles ; it is mostly clay & Pine wood, then Oak, Chestnut &c.

23rd. I went 40 miles to Kingstown, called Sopus. The Road chiefly pretty good ; bridges very bad but the whole Road might be made very good. Oak, chestnut and the best trees all the way to within four miles of Sopus ; then Pine and sandy Soil ; the other is on a clay or gravel &c. Good country the whole way ; the Road in most places is at two and three miles distance from Hudson River. Sopus is a very pretty village, one hundred good houses, the streets laid out regular. I lay at a good house, Mr. Elbendorfs. Col. Hardenberg of the Militia acquainted me the inhabitants of Minnisink had been warned by the Indians & were afraid of being attacked. They had killed two Indians who had behaved ill to them. I advised him to send guards and not permit the settlers to quit their habitations.

24th. I sat out from Esopus, went 15 miles from there to and 15 further to Major Colden. Lay at the Lt Governor's house, a place he had cleared entirely himself and lived there 20 years ; it is about eight miles from the Hudson's river. The Road was pretty good ; crossed several bad bridges.

## 272 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

25th. I went through the Highlands; the road very stony and narrow but might be made very passable and it is not very hilly. 32 miles to Sidenhams; was eleven hours on horseback. This whole road is called the Highlands and 3 miles beyond Sidenhams.

26th. As soon as we got out of the Highlands the Country very pretty; the road very good. I went 25 miles to Orange Town, called Tapaan. From the Highlands to Orange Town the greatest part of the Country very well settled and is a garden. Looks beautiful coming out of the woods into it.

27th. I sat out from Orange Town, went through Hakensack, a pretty village, to Colonel John Schuylers, and went over his house, one of the best in America. From thence to Col Peter Schuylers which is about 22 miles from Orange Town; crossed the Rysaick River. Dined at Newark and went in the afternoon to Elizabeth Town Point, crossed into Staten Island<sup>157</sup> and took my quarters at Col. Dungens.

28th. I ordered the Line out in the morning. The men looked well and healthy, the Camp dry and good. Plenty of spruce beer will continue them to health. Nothing contributes more to the health of a soldier in this country than that liquor and eserick, which take off the bad effects of salt provisions. I ordered the whole to go on exercising twice a day as I had before directed, and to put up butts to fire two Rounds of Ball man by man.

30th. Capt. Derby in the Devonshire, with the Norwich and Greyhound, came into the Hook from Halifax, and Capt Boyd of the Penzance came in from a Cruise. I believe the

<sup>157</sup> On this island the troops were collecting to await the arrival of transports to convey them to the West Indies to take part in the operations against Martinique under General Monckton.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 273

Devonshire is the largest ship that ever came within the Hook and Capt Derby says he got in without the least difficulty. It is certainly much better laying within than out in the open sea, as other ships have done, because they were supposed too large to come in.

### *September:*

19th. The English letters arrived by the Pitt Packet boat that got into the Hook last night. I received a letter from Mr. Pitt 8th July containing a piece of news that must give all the Kings Subjects the utmost pleasure, His Majesty having declared to his Council his intentions of demanding in Marriage the Princess Charlotte of Muhlenburg Strelitz. The last date of any letters I received were of the 11th. The Pitt sailed the 18th and was the longer on her passage from being just taken in the Service and no one on board was acquainted with the coast.

25th. I received the first Brigade consisting of Amherst's, Townshend's and two R Highland Battns. They performed their manuel exercise, each Battn. very well, tho' their time differed; fired ten rounds, marched by files from the center, by sub-divisions in Column, formed the Battn and went through their several manouvres perfectly well.

29th. I received the 2nd Brigade consisting of Talbots, Otways and 3rd Battn of R. Americans. They performed pretty well, went through a different exercise from the first and fired very well, passed and forced a bridge, retreated over it &c.

### *October:*

5th. I reviewed the 3rd Brigade, they went thro different manouvres from the first and second, and fired and performed their several Evolutions very well. Nothing steadys them so much to firing as by firing balls.

## 274 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

20th. The Alcide man of war came into the Hook. At noon the agent of Transports Capt. Shakerly came to me to let me know the greatest Part of the Transports would come in this day and to morrow. They lost one at sea the Essex who foundered but the crew was saved. At night Capt. Hankerson of the Alcide brought me my dispatches with Ensigns of the Order of the Bath.<sup>158</sup>

21st. I wrote my dispatches for England as there were two Packets at New York to dispatch one of them. The Agent of the Transports had reported them in a shattered condition. Ordered the whole to be filled as fast as possible.

23rd. I heard the Dover man of war was come in. I had a letter from Lt Governor Bull that the Peace was bringing to a conclusion with the Cherokees. I wrote to Col Grant for him to proceed with Burtons and four Companys of Royals to Dominique to joyn the Troops for the Expedition.

25th. The Pitt Packet that I thought had sailed on 21st at Night did not get out till this day. I applied to Capt. Darby to send a Man of War to Carolina to convoy the Troops under Lt Col. Grant's command; he fixed on the Dover. We had very bad weather that retarded the fitting the Transports.

30th. The Capt. Shackerley was to have everything fitted in seven days. This night I had the first report from him and not a Transport named ready to receive Troops; said they would be ready in a few days; four Transports not come in.

158 King George III conferred the honour of a Knighthood of the Order of the Bath on Amherst on May, 1761, with appropriate ceremonies in Westminster Abbey, a proxy being found for the absent General. The insignia of the Order were sent to New York and General Monckton, who had just been appointed Governor of the city, was instructed to invest Amherst with appropriate ceremony. This was done in the camp on Staten Island on October 25, and was the first investiture of a Royal distinction ever held in America.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 275

### *November:*

2nd. I sat out from Staten Island for New York in the evening and arrived at 10 at night; time slipping very fast. I thought it necessary to hurry thing on.

3rd. I ordered such ships as were ready to fall down to Staten Island to receive the Troops but the repairs had taken up more time than Capt Shackerly imagined, and the weather had been very unfavorable. It took up from this day to the 9th to compleat the Shipping for the whole, and I gave Governor Monckton his orders, but the Artillery had yet two ships to load.

15th. General Monckton<sup>159</sup> sat out for the Hook. One ship was yet remaining with part of the Hospital stores and things of no great consequence.

19th. Capt. Pryce came from the Hook. Brought me letters from Genl. Monckton the last of this morning, that the whole were well and would sail this morning and Capt Pryce said they sailed after. He saw them all clear off the Hook and made his signal to the Commodore accordingly who had ordered him to make a signal when all was clear. They have had a fine time to get out, as a Packet was expected daily from England I waited some days in hopes one would arrive, but none coming on the 27th Nov I dispatched the Harriott Packet and sent my dispatches to Mr. Pitt by Capt Martin.

### *December:*

2nd. I received Letters from Lt Gov Bull, Colonel Grant

159 Monckton's army consisted of Regulars and Colonial troops, numbering in all 6,667. The naval forces in the West Indies co-operating with him were commanded by Rodney, and numbered nearly as many men as the army.

The landing was made at Martinique on Jan. 16, 1762, and Fort Royal capitulated on Feb. 4. In quick succession Martinique, St. Lucia, Grenada and St. Vincent fell to the British.

## 276 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

and Major Moneypenny. The Major's last letter of 15th Nov from Charles Town to acquaint me the Companys of the 17th and 22nd were embarked on 14th Nov, and he hoped to be over the Bar on the 17th, that Lt Burton with my dispatches was gone to Lt Col Grant who would receive them on the 13th. These dispatches were for him to embark for Dominique with the rest of the Troops, and the Dover man of war that I sent from New York to convoy him was arrived at Charles Town.

4th. The Halifax Packet arrived with letters to the 10th Oct. The Packet met the Man of War and Transports on the 24th Nov. General Monckton writes me all was well, that they were 150 leagues from the Hook.

23rd. I had a letter from Mr. Hancock of Boston to acquaint me of an unfortunate accident happening to Governor Whitmore, who was coming to the Southward for his health. The vessel he was in, on a gale of wind, put into Plymouth harbour and when at anchor, Gov. Whitmore<sup>160</sup> occasionally went on deck late at night, and by some accident fell overboard and was drowned. His body was found next day and brought to Boston on the 13th. The Accident happened on the 11th December.

26th. Report of the Rochester man of war being at the Hook.

31st. The Rochester came to the watering place & Capt. Burnett delivered me a letter from Lord Colville, who had sent his Man of War to convoy the Provision ships as I desired his Lordship would send me one. She ran aground coming into the Hook but received no damages. I received a letter of 4th

160 See Note No. (9).

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 277

Dec from Admiral Rodney at Barbadoes, that he was appointed to the command of the Fleet for the Expedition.

1762:

*January:*

1st. I wrote my Dispatches to Genl Monckton and Admiral Rodney and ordered the Provision Ships to be ready, which they were the next day but the weather grew so very bad and so much ice in the River they could not stir, and on the 3rd the Rochester was driven a mile and a half by the ice but got no damage. Capt Burnett made a complaint of the non attendance of the Pilots as he came into the Harbour. I laid it before the Lt Governor.

11th. The Provision ships got out and went to the Hook.

14th. I had a letter from Capt. Burnett dated 13th in the morning that he was then clear off the Hook and out of all the Shoals and proceeding with the Ships under his convoy for Martinique.

16th. The Vulture came in from Torbay brought cloathing for several of the Regts that were shipped in the River in August and September. I received a letter from Mr. Calcraft 3rd September with my Patent and Instructions as Governor of Virginia. I sent my Patent and Commission of Vice Admiral to Lt Gov. Fauquier 27th Jan, and kept copies of them.

30th. I had a letter from Col. Bouquet acquainting me of a most extraordinary flood that rose at Pittsburg on the 10th, The usual depth of the water being 5 to 6 feet, and the water now rose to 40 ft, was as high as ramparts on the N.W. side. Ammunition all spoiled, Provisions greatly damaged, Case-ments filled with water, Sod work destroyed, Artillery, barracks and lower town taken all away, and the Garrison was prepared

## 278 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

to save themselves in batteaux as the Fort was all under water, but luckily a frost came on and the water fell. This is a melancholy consideration, tho no lives were lost, as this Fort has cost such sums of money and that what has now happened may, if tis repaired, put it all in ruin again.

### *February:*

5th. I had Letters from Lt Col. Grant that the Troops marched into Charles Town on 10th & immediately embarked from the Quay. Col Grant's letter was of the 24th; they were waiting for the Dover to get over the Bar. I had also a letter from Govr. Boone of 12 Jany enclosing the Treaty concluded with the Indians. By the papers the Troops sailed the 10th Jany. The Dover was obliged to take out her guns to get over the bar.

9th. The General Wall Packet arrived from England sailed from Falmouth 10th Dec. Brought me letters of 12th Dec from the Secretary of State. I immediately wrote to the Governors in Canada and dispatched all the letters that were for them . . .

14th. By a letter from Major Tullikens from Louisbourg 26th Dec. the report that one of the three vessels with the remains of the French prisoners from Canada being lost was true, for on 21st Dec Mr. Knowles, Master of the Augusta Transport, arrived at Louisburg with two French soldiers. He sailed from Quebec 11th Oct. with two other Transports on the same service, and in a violent storm on Nov 15th the ship was lost within three miles of the North Cape of Cape Breton. There were on board 111 people, of which 19 were the ship's crew; an English gentleman and his servant made 21; the rest all French; and of the whole but seven saved, tho the ship

struck within pistol shot of the shore. There were 15 French officers on board, St Luke la Corne, the commanding officer, who with Mr. Knowles and the 5 French soldiers made the seven that were saved. They were a considerable time in the woods when they met with some Indians who conducted them to St Peters. St Luke prevailed with the savages to cross the Cut of Canso with him and one of his people and is gone back to Quebec by way of St John's River. Mr. Knowles left two of the French who were not yet come into Louisburg, one of them being frost bit; the other was left to take care of him.

19th. I wrote to Gen. Monckton, by the Lyon, armed ship, sending the clothing that came in the Vulture for all the Regts under his command who had any sent for them.

The Troops demanded of the several Provinces were the same numbers as last year for the Northern Provinces, viz. New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire. The Southern Provinces, viz. Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina were required all to raise as many men as the number and situation of their inhabitants would allow, excepting Pennsylvania who was required to raise as many men as was required by Mr. Pitts letter of December 1760, viz., two thirds of what they raised the preceeding campaign. The provinces were likewise required to furnish recruits for completing the Regular Corps serving in America. For this purpose I required 4,000 men which I demanded in proportion to the Quota the Northern Provinces were required to raise; and from the Southern Provinces in proportion to the number of men they had raised either the last or some preceding campaign. The numbers were

# 280 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

	For Provincial Service	To recruit the Regulars
New Hampshire,	543	543
Massachusetts,	3334	893
Rhode Island,	666	378
Connecticut	3334	893
New York	1787	479
New Jersey	666	178
Pennsylvania	1800	482
Maryland,	300	84
(which once raised)		
Virginia	1000	268
North Carolina	500	134
South Carolina	1000	268
	<hr/> 14,921	<hr/> 4000

## *March:*

27th. I received letters from Genl Monckton and Admiral Rodney acquainting me of their having entirely taken the Island of Martinique with a surprising little loss. Fort Royal capitulated on the 4th of February and on the 16th they were in full possession of the Island. We had one Capt, six Lieutenants, and one Ensign, three Sergts and eighty six men killed, 1 Lt Col, 2 Majors, 11 Capts, 15 Lts, 5 Ens, 20 Sergts, 5 Drums, and 332 men wounded. This was including from their first landing on the 1st of April. The Enterprise Man of War, Capt Houlton, arrived; had been a tedious while on his passage, near ten weeks. I received letters from Lord Egremont of 7th, 12th and 13th Jany, with His Majesty's declaration of war against the King of Spain. These were all Duplicates, I fear the originals must have gone to the bottom and Packet taken.

*April:*

6th. I wrote my dispatches for England and sent them by Capt. Fraser who went on board the Packet on the 7th.

8th. The Pitt Packet arrived and brought the Original letters of which I received the Duplicates by the Enterprise, Man of War.

28th. Capt Hale of the Intrepid came up in the Porcupine Sloop. He had left His Ship and the Chesterfield out of the Hook; had ten days passage from Halifax. The Snow Diamond, a vessel hired on purpose brought the clothing of the several Regts from Halifax as I had directed Col. Forster . . .

*May:*

4th. Capt. Oglevies and Coventrys Independant Companys, arrived from Albany; went on board the Transports.

7th. A detachment of 119 of the Rhode Islanders arrived. I ordered them to be mustered the next day and embark on board the Transports. At night the Harriott Packet arrived; sailed from Falmouth 22nd February.

8th. Capt. Gater's and McLean's Companys of Independants arrived; ordered them on board the Transports. At night Capt. Bonnel of Harriott Packet arrived; sailed from Falmouth 22nd February.

12th. I dispatched my letters for England. Sent those for Egremont by Capt. Dalrymple who arrived yesterday from Canada. He went on board the Pitt Packet in the evening. 90 more Rhode Islanders officers included were mustered and sent on board the Transports.

13th. Mustered and embarked 200 of the New York troops.

## 282 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

- 15th. 45 of the New York Troops embarked.
- 18th. 66 of the New York Troops embarked. A part of the New Jersey detachment was mustered and embarked.
- 19th. The remainder of the New Jersey detachment arrived and embarked. The Col and Regiment also arrived out of which I compleated the detachment that wanted 36 men.
- 20th. The Jersey Troops sailed for Albany but what with compleating the detachment for the expedition and what were wanting to compleat they are 150 defective. Last night the Briton Transport arrived from Boston with provisions, and 13 men of Gorehams Rangers. Two Transports came in from Philadelphia with provisions.
- 24th. The first of the Connecticut arrived with Major Durghee.
- 26th. Another detachment of Connecticut arrived with Major Paterson. Two Transports from Philadelphia arrived.
- 27th. Capt. Hierlehey with his Company of the Connecticut Troops arrived. A Transport from Philadelphia came in, brought some Tents.
- 28th. Some more Connecticut arrived.
- 29th. Part of 46th. Regt arrived. I ordered the New York Troops who are not compleat to make room for the 46th in the Transports.
- 30th. The remainder of the 46th arrived.

### *June:*

- 4th. The Man of War and Transport got under sail to go down to the Hook; all but three Transports which were to follow, but the wind contrary. I wrote my letters to Ld

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 283

Albermarle<sup>161</sup> and Sir George Pocock. Remainder of Gorhams arrived.

5th. The wind remained contrary. One of the three last Transports got out.

6th. Col Burton sat out in the morning. The two last Transports got out, but the wind was contrary. 37 recruits arrived from Massachusetts Government; one proved a deserter from Gorhams. I gave 14 of these to compleat the 46 and 22 to Major Gorhams Rangers besides his deserter.

7th. The 58th Anstruthers arrived; I order them to encamp on Staten Island.

9th. The Men of War and Transports got under sail at the Hook but the wind failing they could not get out. Early this morning I received my letters from England by the Halifax Packet that left Falmouth 25th April. I wrote to Canada as usual on the arrival of a Packet and sent such letters as were for Governor Burton and the Troops under his command to the Hook which consist of the following numbers, officers included:

46th Regiment	668
4th New York Indt Compys.	335
New Jersey Provincls	222
Rhode Islanders	217
New Yorkers,	90
Connecticut	904
Total	<hr/> 2432

<sup>161</sup> In 1761 war broke out between Great Britain and Spain, and an expedition was sent to attack Havana. The army was commanded by the Earl of Albermarle, and the navy by Sir George Pocock. The forces landed on June 7th and, after a siege of two months, during which time disease played havoc with the troops, Havana surrendered on Aug. 14.

## 284 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

The above were embarked in sixteen Transports at a Tun and three quarters pr man. Had bedding compleat, victualled for six months, watered for two and compleated with every thing they would want.

10th. Late at night I received a letter from Capt. Hale that the Intrepid had run aground going out of the Hook but he had got off without damages; had however been obliged to start fifty tuns of water which he desired I would supply him from one of the Transports from hence as he waited only to recruit his water. I instantly ordered the only Transport I had here that was watered so hope the delay will not be great tho this is an unlucky accident and the loss of a fair wind.

11th. The Transport with water went down very early this morning and the wind was very fair.

12th. I heard the Transports sailed at five o'clock yesterday evening and I received a letter from Col. Burton confirming the report. In the evening Genl Monckton<sup>162</sup> arrived in the Lizard Frigate. He had a narrow escape in being taken in his passage from Antigua on the 4th June, having crossed two ships which they went down on supposing them Merchantmen. One proved a 64 and the other of less force. They were within shot and the Lizard was obliged to cut the Schooner loose that she had in tow with the Generals baggage. The large ship very injudiciously slackened sail to speak to the Schooner, which she took and then crowded sail after the Lizard who luckily got clear.

15th. I wrote my dispatches for England to send the Harriott Packet away as there are two Packets here.

16th. The Harriott sailed in the morning. In the afternoon Capt Shackerley Agent of Transports with the Lyon and

162 Returning from his successful campaign in the West Indies.

ten Transports with the wounded and sick of the Army from Martinique arrived here having sailed the 26th May; he had lost company of one Transport in passing near Guadaloupe.

17th. The returns of the sick and wounded were made out. 134 were found fit to joyn their Regts and I sent them on board fresh Transports. If they landed they would half desert. 269 were sent to Elizabeth Town, 101 were put into the Hospital and 101 of the worst cases went to Kennedys Island. I ordered fresh provisions and everything that would be for the benefit of the sick.

20th. The Nancy, the missing Transport, arrived; had 27 men on board. Had lost 16 in the passage; the men on board this vessel were of the worst cases.

26th. The Enterprise, Man of War, with the Transports with Gorham's Rangers and the 553 men. A detachment of the New York Provincials fell down to the Hook.

27th. The last Transport for the 58th was to go to Staten Island this Evening. I went to Staten Island to review the Regiment. They appeared in very good order; saw them march by in grand Divisions, sub-divisions and by Companys. I had yesterday ordered that the Part of the Regt. whose Transports were arrived should embark this day.

28th. I wrote my dispatches to Lord Albermarle and Sir George Pocock. The Porcupine sailed early to the Hook. The Lizard took in about 20,000 £ for the subsistence of the Troops. Capt Banks refused giving a receipt without being paid freight but as I had mentioned it of the utmost consequence that the cash should be taken to Lord. Albermarle and given my reasons why I could not order Freight, as the Lords of the Treasury on a former occasion when Capt. Darby went from hence, had refused

## 286 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

it. Capt Banks took the money and said he would deliver it safe. The wind was contrary and the Lizard got down only to the watering Place where the Transports with the 58th Regt were.

29th. The wind continued contrary and it blew hard. The Lizard got down below the Narrows. The Transports from Staten Island could not get away. Lt Agnew came to give me an embarkation return as they could not stir. 25 recruits arrived from the Massachusetts this morning, just in time to joyn the Regt who want 84 men to compleat. At 11 at night the cash that was sent for from Boston by the Contractors Agents to make up a sum of money for the Troops with Lord Albermarle arrived immediately. 35,000£ to be got ready to be sent down in case the Fleet should not be sailed.

30th. The Fleet from Staten Island sailed in the morning and it was thought they were all got to sea as it blew very hard and fair to get out. I ordered the Lyon Armed ship to take the money to the Lizard but she could not get up her Anchors till three in the afternoon when she went down.

### *July:*

5th. I heard the Fleet sailed from the Hook yesterday in the afternoon. Capt Pryce Agent of Transport came back and said the whole sailed at four in the evening with a fair wind. He saw the Lyon and was doubtful whether she could overtake them. In the afternoon the Lyon returned with the money; could not overtake the Fleet, which consisted of the Lizard, Enterprise, and Porcupine ships of war and fourteen Transports with 1333 men besides 121 men of those that came from Martinique, who were so perfectly recovered as to be fit to joyn their Regts as ever they were.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 287

The Corps were, officers included,

58th Regt.	590
Gorhams Rangers,	225
New Yorkers,	477
Connecticut,	8
Prisoners,	3
Recovered men,	121
Total	<hr/> 1454

7th. Mons. Dumuy with eleven men of the Prisoners from Detroit sailed in the True Briton for Boston. I wrote to Capt Affleck of the Launceston to desire him to take them on board for England. They have remained here a great while for want of an opportunity and I did not care to send them in a Transport from the accidents that have happened to the French prisoners, lest the Court of France might fancy there was not all possible care taken of the prisoners. There were seven more prisoners but they deserted on hearing they were to go to France and could not be found.

9th. The William, Transport, arrived from Virginia with 132 recruits for the Regulars; eight recruits also arrived from Boston. I sent 30 to Louisburg to compleat the 45th and the remainder to Quebec in the Hope Transport.

16th. I received an account from Gov. Bernard of intelligence being arrived at Boston of some Spanish ships being on the Banks of New Foundland and had taken several vessels, but the account was so confused it appeared rather to be the provision ships going to Quebec. I however wrote to Governor Murray and Col Tullikens.

20th. I received from Gov. Bernard confirmation of the

## 288 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Enemys ships<sup>163</sup> being on the coast of Newfoundland, that they landed 3000 men in the Bay of Bulls and marched to attack St. Johns, that they had three line of battle ships and a bomb in the said bay, and that there were five more men of war on the banks. This account I think must be exaggerated as it is incomprehensible to me that they should think it worth while to attack Newfoundland, which they may certainly take with a much less force, and at the same time neglect to succor the most interesting part of their Dominions that is now besieged by Lord Abermarle. As there was a Packet I thought proper to dispatch her with these accounts. Gen. Monckton's servants who were taken in the schooner arrived this day; it was the *Prothée* of 64 guns and *Zephyre* of 24 that took them. They came out of the Cape to cruise six days but hearing of our having many ships there they determined to go to France. They rifled the schooner and then sank her. Took afterwards a sloop which they permitted to ransom and put the servants on board except two black boys and a mulatto cook that they kept. In the afternoon the *Gosport* of 40 guns arrived at the Hook; came from Virginia and brought cash from England. The Lt who came up with the cash told me the Captain intended to go to sea on his return. I wrote to him to joyn Lord Colvill at Halifax if it was consistent with his orders and acquainted him of the intelligence I had received.

163 An expedition left Brest on May 8, 1762, consisting of two ships of the line and two frigates commanded by Captain de Ternay and a military force under Comte D' Haussenville. It reached Newfoundland on June 20, capturing St. John's, whose small British garrison capitulated; fishing vessels and other property were then destroyed. Lord Colville commanded the North American squadron at Halifax, and, when he learned of the attack, he sent word to General Amherst in New York. The latter, soon after, organized an expedition under his brother, Lieut.-Col. William Amherst, to recover Newfoundland from the French.

21st. Capt Jervis of the Gosport came up at night. He had been trying to get out in consequence of my letter but the wind being contrary he could not so came up to let me know he would joyn Lord Colvill. The wind being contrary hindered the Packet also from sailing.

22nd. The Gosport Man of War, sailed from the Hook early in the morning. The Packet also got out, and the Lyon armed ship bound to Martinique with two vessels with provisions sailed from the watering place to the Hook. Two provision vessels arrived from Corke. The last parted Company with the provision vessels for Quebec on 17th June. I fear their situation is critical if they keep the coast of Newfoundland, as the Enemy, I think, must have some ships there, tho' I imagine not the fourth part of what the accounts arrived at Boston make them to be.

23rd. A Sloop arrived from Jamaica. Passed the Havanna 10th June. The Master says he saw and heard a great deal of firing of Cannon and Bombs; saw the Men of War but spoke only with a Privateer, as the currents took him off in the night.

*August:*

1st. The Duke of Cumberland, Packet boat, arrived from Falmouth. Sailed the 15th June and brought letters of the 12th from London. The Genl. Wall had been taken in her passage from hence and ransomed in the afternoon. A vessel arrived from the Havanna. Left it the 19th July with the Jamaica Fleet convoyed by three Ships under the command of Sr. James Douglass. He had not heard anything of the first Division which is very surprising. My brother had two letters by which it appears Lord Albermarle landed on the 7th June with upwards of 9000 men, and the 1st July opened his Batteries against the Moro Castle.

## 290 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

The Dragon, Cambridge and Marlborough had also made an attack but were obliged to haul off and Capt. Gosetree of the Cambridge killed. On the 7th when they had dismounted all the guns of the Fort, their largest Battery took and being entirely made of Fascines burnt to the ground. This put us back and gave the Enemy time to repair and mount their guns again and it was the 3rd before we could make up for the loss of the battery. When the vessel sailed the Castle was expected to surrender daily. The Army was encamped on the east side carrying on the siege against the Moro Castle, and a Corps encamped and intrenched on the West side under the command of Col. Howe. Our Fleet divided, the Admiral on the East side and Commodore Keppell on the left. The Enemy had twelve of the Line of which they sunk three in the entrance of the harbour.

8th. From the several intelligences of the enemys being in possession of St Johns, and on receiving an account from Gov. Bernard given by a master of a vessel who escaped from Newfoundland July 6th and gave a very clear and distinct account by which it appears the enemy certainly are preparing to stay there the winter, I determined to collect all the force I could to try to dislodge (them) for which I must drain Halifax and Louisburg of their troops, and as it may be reasonably expected that Lord Colvill will be joyned by ships of war sufficient for him to take the troops under convoy, I ordered the Transports I had been preparing to be quite ready, and formed two Companys from the recovered men of those that came from Martinique and gave the command of this expedition to Lt Col. Amherst.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Expedition to recover Newfoundland.—Among the Amherst papers was found the personal Journal of Lieut.-Col. William Amherst, giving an account of his operations which ended successfully. This has been published by Dr. J. C. Webster.

# THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 291

14th. Lt Col. Amherst went on board the James and had seven Transports in all, including a vessel loaded with provisions. The six Transports were besides victualled for three months and watered for two, had bedding for two thirds of their complement and would hold upwards of 1000 men, exclusively of the Provision vessel at a Tun and a half pr man.

Troops to form the Corps, officers included.

New York	2 companys Recovered men	191
Halifax	{ 3 Companys Royal	257
	{ 2 Companys Montgomerys	158
	{ Massachusetts Provincials	520
	{ Artillery	39
Louisburg	5 Companys 45th	395
New York	Artillery,	19
Total		1559

with a proportion of Artillery, intrenching tools and as much as thought necessary.

15th. I wrote to Lord Egremont by the Duke of Cumberland Packet to acquaint him of the Troops I had ordered with my Brother to Newfoundland and of all the measures I had taken on receiving the intelligence of the Enemys establishing themselves at StJohns. She sailed in the evening.

16th. This morning the Transports and the Packet got out of the Hook.

## *September:*

5th. Several Transports at night coming thro the Narrows; some got up to the Town, and two in the morning of the 6th. Capt Houlton and Major Moncrief arrived and brought me a letter from Ld Albermarle of 18th August and Sir Geo. Pocock of 20th. The Havana surrendered the 13th August.

## 292 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

Capt Houlton with the *Enterprise* and the *Porcupine* Sloops of War convoyed the Transports. He sailed the 25th from the Havanna with 23 Transports, 9 of which had the two Batts of R. Highlanders on board, 3 had the 17th Regt. and 5 the 77th, and the other six were leaky and unfit for service so had no Troops on board. 13 of the above came in with the *Enterprise*. Of the others two went into Carolina and eight had lost Company. I ordered Surgeons immediately to examine the men on board who were in general in a most deplorable state, and made dispositions for the sick to be taken into the Barracks at Elizabeth Town, Amboy and New York, which we were forced to convert into Hospitals. The well men to be sent into Cantonments. I gave orders to Capt. Houlton to joyn Lord Colvill and he sailed out of the Hook on the 8th. The missing ships dropped in daily; the *Duchess of Hamilton* which was in the last, came the 11th at night.

13th. The Pitt Packet arrived and I had a letter from Lord Egremont<sup>165</sup> with a confirmation of the good news of which we had had a report here, of Prince Ferdinands having surprised and gained a victory over the French Army in Hesse Cassel. The master of the Packet brought an account that the Harriott Packet which sailed from hence on 15th June had been chased and threw the mail overboard. I ordered the Pitt to be got ready that I might dispatch her to England as soon as possible.

23rd. The Pitt was ready and I sent the accounts I had received from the Havana with duplicates of my dispatches lost by the Harriott and duplicates of what I had ordered Col. Amherst to do.

27th. The *Cygnets* Sloop of War, Capt. Almes, arrived in three weeks from the Havana with Capt Thomas and Mr.

<sup>165</sup> Earl of Egremont, secretary of state for the southern department.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 293

Perceval. I had letters from Lord Albermarle giving a deplorable account of the sickness of the Troops, that there were not 400 fit for service of all those that arrived in the two divisions, that he intended to send very soon the Provincials back with the Independent Companys. The Royal, Amherst, Webbs, and 3rd R American Battn. The Porcupine Sloop sailed to day out of the Hook to joyn Lord Colvill off St Johns. The Men of 77th remained, so ill I could not send any of them to Halifax.

28th. I sent the director of the Hospital and ordered Sr John St Clair to Philadelphia to prepare the Barracks of that place as likewise of Trentown and Burlington. Ordered the Monckton Transport to cruise for the Fleet off Cape Hatteras, that the Transports with the Royal, my Regt and Webbs may go directly up the Delaware. Wrote to the Commanding officers of the Troops and Man of War accordingly.

29th. Capt Richards of the Weasel Sloop arrived from England from Portsmouth 3rd August and brought me a dispatch from Lord Egremont of the 2nd with orders in consequence of the Enemys having taken possession of St Johns. It gave me no small satisfaction that I had anticipated the King's commands for the Weasel has had so long a passage it would not now be practicable to send troops for that service, and I had the pleasure on reading the orders to see that the measures I had taken were as conformable to the King's intentions as I would have made them, had I known His Majesty's pleasure before Col Amherst sailed. The Porcupine Sloop being waiting at the Hook for a wind I sent a copy of Lord Egremont's letter to Col Amherst as it solely regarded Newfoundland. The Porcupine had been driven back into the Hook and Capt. Richards very judiciously ordered the Capt not to go till he received my dispatches.

## 294 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

13th. Captain Jervis<sup>166</sup> in the Gosport arrived with Capt Maxwell's Company and dispatches from Col Amherst and Lord Colvill with the very agreeable news that my brother had joyned Lord Colvill on the 11th Sept a few leagues southward of St Johns, that he landed the Troops on the 13th at Torbay, was opposed by a party of the Enemy which the Light Infantry soon drove off. He marched on as soon as the troops were landed and was attacked only by a part of those who were driven off and lay concealed. It was necessary he should take possession of Kitty Witty for the landing of his Artillery and which could not be brought up from Torbay. This he did by beating off the Enemy and securing his own posts before dark. The 14th he opened the Channel the Enemy had filled up by sinking Shallops, and made his disposition for attacking the Enemys posts on the hill that overlooked the Fort and commanded the harbour. On the 15th that was effected and three Companys of Grenadiers and two Pickets drove in; Lt Col Belcombe, who commanded them wounded, a Capt of Grenadiers wounded and taken prisoner, a Lieut killed, several men killed and 13 taken prisoners. A mortar and a 6 pounder also taken.

The 16th he closed in more on the Fort and landed some Artillery, Stores, Provisions and Camp equipage. In the night part of the Enemys Ships got out of the harbour and clear of Lord Colvill tho blocking it up, being favoured by the weather and starting directly the opposite way to our ships as soon as they got out. Lord Colvill knew nothing of their escape till my brother sent to him, but he had seen their topsails in the morning as Capt Jervis tells me, but as there was no wind then, t'was not practicable to pursue them, and tho Lord Colvill, I doubt not, would have proved himself superior to them if he had had the good luck to have brought them to action. Yet he certainly

<sup>166</sup> Later the famous Earl of St. Vincent.

would have found them much more inferior if they had exchanged Ships before the action. The 17th a Battery was begun and he began firing at night with an 8th inch Mortar, 7 cohorns, and 6 Royals, the Enemy firing pretty briskly from the Fort. The

18th the Count de Haussonville who commanded sent my Brother a letter which was answered and concluded with a capitulation much to the honour of the British Troops, 770 men laying down their Arms and being prisoners of war. This would have been compleat indeed had the Ships been taken, which Capt Jervis says must have happened if they had not got out the night they did. My brother is not more to be commended for the judicious and unerring precautions he took in his landing, approaching and attacking the Fort, than in the attention he shewed to the Sea Service in making an opening that Lord Colvill might concur to the Capitulation, tho he was at a great distance and could not give any help towards it, wisely judging that every addition of credit that can be given from one Service to the other is increasing the respect due to His Majesty's Arms and adds to the honour of the whole. Lord Colvill had the Northumberland 74, Gosport 40, Antelope and Siron 20 and the Boston, armed ship; the Enemy the Robuste 74, Eveillé 64, Le Licorne 30, Gramont taken, and the Garonne 26. Three Line of Battle ships and a Frigate arrived the day after the place was taken. As Capt Jervis was to proceed to Virginia to convoy the Fleets home, and wanted 20 tuns of water, I ordered to be got as fast as possible and wrote to Capt Jervis to proceed according to his orders. Of the troops under my brothers command Capt McKenzie of Montgomerys very badly wounded, Capt McDonald of Frasers wounded, Lt Schuyler of Royal Americans killed, Capt Baillie of the Royal wounded.

14th. The Harriott Packet arrived; sailed from Falmouth  
20th August; brought letters of 14th August with the joyful

## 296 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

news of the Queens happy delivery of a Prince on the 12th August. The Master reported to me his having seen a fleet of 13 ships he took for Enemys and was chased and fired at by them, tho it is very improbable they will attempt anything so late in the year at Newfoundland. I immediately wrote to commodore Spry at Halifax giving him an account of it, that he may be provided to frustrate any attempt the Enemy can make.

19th. The Enterprise Man of War arrived at the Hook and Lt Col Amherst and Capt Houlton came to New York in the morning. The Enterprise got into the Hook yesterday. Everything settled right at Newfoundland. My brother sailed from thence on the 2nd. Lord Colvill intended to sail for England on the 5th. Poor Capt. McKenzie died and Capt McDonald had his leg taken off. Capt Gualy with three company's of 45th left to command St Johns . . .

26th. I finished my dispatches for Lord Egremont. As five of the English Transports were ready I embarked the officers, Sergts, Corporals, and Drums of the 2nd Bat. H. Battn. Drafting the men into the first, the two Batts would only furnish two parts in three of sergeants and corporals that were able to go and not a Drum to each company. I sent also the invalids of the Army that I had kept here for the 1st opportunity of sending them to England, being 13 of the Artillery and 37 of different Regts. and I wrote to Capt Holmes of the Cygnet Sloop to convoy the Transport to England . . .

### *November:*

8th. The Lieut of the Minerva brought me a letter from Capt. Peyton at the Hook; he came in there from Halifax on the 4th Oct; the weather had been so bad he could not get up

to Town. The Roebuck and Black Prince Transports were arrived before the Minerva. Two others were also under his convoy with the Joseph and Nancy and the Snow Peggy; these vessels sailed from hence with my brother to Newfoundland and brought back some Artillery arms. The Snow Peggy and Joseph and Nancy came in some days after.

17th. There being upwards of 200 men belonging to the Regts in Garrison at Martinique, Guadeloupe & the Havana, I ordered a Transport to take them to their Regts, and the Scarborough Man of War being here & not able to get to Quebec as was intended, I judged it for the good of the Service to desire the Capt to convoy these Troops who may be wanted with their Regts . . .

19th. A Transport with Major Gorham<sup>167</sup> and the officers of his Company arrived from the Havana, sailed with the Intrepid the 21st October and had parted Company. Another Transport arrived in the afternoon . . .

167 JOSEPH GOREHAM\*: A native of Massachusetts. In 1749 he was Lieutenant in the force of Rangers (mostly Indians) commanded by his brother John in 1749. He fought at Louisbourg in 1758 and at Quebec the next year. He was made a Major in the American Rangers in 1760, and in 1761 he was given his rank in a British regiment. He obtained large grants of land in Nova Scotia in 1765. In 1766 he became a member of Council in Halifax. In 1771 he was made a Lieut.-Colonel. For years he held the appointment of Lieut.-Governor of Placentia, Nfld., which was given him in 1770. He did not reside there constantly, for in 1776 he was sent to Fort Cumberland with his Rangers and defended it against the Eddy rebels. He spent much money in the public service and was greatly in debt.

He had much influence over the Indians. In 1782 he was made Governor of Newfoundland. He died about 1790.

\*The name is often spelled "Gorham," but I have given it as found on a document signed by Joseph in the Public Record Office, London. I have several original letters of his brother John, signed "Gorham". According to Mr. R. P. Gorham, a descendant of the family, the pioneer member was George Goram of Stamford, who adopted the form "Gorham". His children seem to have divided their allegiance between the two varieties. Why and when the "e" was introduced is not known; at the present day there are members of the family who use this variation.

## 298 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

22nd. Last night and this day five more Transports arrived from the Havana, Major Hamilton of the 40th with them. Thought the Intrepid was some distance from the Coast. The Transports bring all the Provincials that are remaining back, the Officers of the New York Independents & Gorehams Rangers, which Corps are drafted into the Regts remaining at the Havana, and some officers to provide Camp Equipage and to recruit. The 90th & 95th Regts have been also drafted and the Officers sent to England.

28th. The Halifax Packet Capt Balderson arrived, sailed from Falmouth 16th Sept, was drove back & sailed again 1st Oct; brought Letters of 11th Sept from London. The Havana Transports dropping in every day; 17 of the 33 that sailed are now arrived. The men sickly; have lost about a 4th Part in the passage. No news from the Intrepid, but that those that are come in parted Company . . .

### *December:*

1st. Col. Burton arrived in the Evening. The Intrepid anchored out of the Hook; could not get in the wind being contrary, She had parted Company with all her Convoy these ten days past & had been much to the Eastward. Col. Burton commended Capt Hall much for his care and attention to the Service.

3rd. The Duke of Cumberland Packet Capt. Goodridge arrived at night; sailed the 17th Oct. Brought me Letters of the 9th. Capt Goodridge said the news of Newfoundland being retaken was arrived but I had nothing in consequence thereof, but I had the satisfaction of His Majestys approbation on the measures I had taken when I heard of the Enemys having taken it. Capt Goodridge said he met the Minerva sailing out with two Transports, viz, "the Duchess of Hamilton & Love &

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 299

Unity", I had said all I could to prevail with Capt. Peyton to stay & take four more Transports, but he thinks his cruising for the Enemy's ships is of much more service than convoying Transports & persevered in going away.

16th. I wrote my Letters for England and dispatched the Halifax Packet, put my Letters under the care of Capt Debbeig who went with some intended Plans of Halifax. The Packet sailed the 17th in the morning but only got down below the Narrow and got out to sea the 18th. The Intrepid is at the Hook; has not had wind to bring her up to the Watering Place.

22nd. I wrote to Mr. Cleveland and enclosed it to the commanding Officers at Plymouth or any other Part acquainting him I sent Eight Empty Transports. These went without Convoy, but the Master of the Hercules Transport had the Charge of the whole. One of the Eight by the neglect of the Master did not get out to sea with the Hopewell for which he should go at his own risque and be paid only to the day the others arrived in England.

1763:

### *January:*

10th. I sent the Venus Transport to the Havana with 74 men, the greatest part Recruits under the care of Lieut. Fesch. I wrote to Governor Keppel, and prepared the Monckton Transport to receive more Recruits.

21st. The Pitt Packet arrived with the King's proclamation for declaring a Cessation of Arms; she sailed the 3rd December. My Letters were of 27th Novr. I wrote immediately to the Governors in Canada & to the several Officers commanding in the different parts.

## 300 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

24th.           The Proclamation was published in New York.

27th.           I wrote my Letters for England to send by the D. of Cumberland Packet that would have sailed on the 28th in the morning but was hindered by the Ice & could not get out of the Harbour till two days after.

### *February:*

12th.           The Boston Post brought a copy of the Preliminarys as published in their Papers, they had received them from England by a vessel that sailed the 15th December.

18th.           Capt. Wood arrived; he sailed from Plymouth the 15th December in the Nightingale Man of War that was bound to S. Carolina, and he got on board a vessel that was bound to Philadelphia from whence he came to New York. He sent all his dispatches which he received from the Secretary of State on board the Martinique Sloop of War in which he was to have come but was taken so ill he could not go on board. She sailed four days before the Nightingale; must be gone to the Southward, or some accident has happened to her.

27th.           An Express arrived from Virginia with a Letter from Governor Fanquier of the 4th Febry that he sent me all the Dispatches that were brought by the Nautilus. Capt Forbes of that Ship being taken very ill had sent the Letters to Gov. Fanquier on his Arrival, & he acquainted the Governor that so soon as the vessel was repaired he should return to England. My last Letter from the Secretary of State was of 2d December; the rest were Duplicates of what I received by the last Packet. I received the Preliminaries of Peace. I dispatched as usually all the Letters to the Governors in Canada.

## XI

February 28, 1763, to November 9, 1763

This Section is mainly concerned with the uprising of the Indians, known as Pontiac's conspiracies, many interesting details of the military operations being given.

The Journal ends prior to Amherst's departure for England just before the middle of November, 1763.

1763:

### *February:*

28th. I put a stop to recruiting, except for Gorham's Rangers and the New York Independents, that every expense which is not absolutely necessary may be avoided, the Recruiting parties remaining where they are, and I shall send them to their Regiments so soon as I know their destinations, as I shall undoubtedly have from England some orders for what Corps are to remain in this country and a General Arrangement to be made of the whole force here.

### *March:*

16th. Capt. Nugent with three Subalterns of Capt. Gordon's and Capt. Brown's New York Independent Companys and Sergts and Drums arrived from Virginia. They sailed from the Havana under convoy of the Intrepid, and were drove in distress to Providence from whence they sailed again in the York and Halifax sloop which sprung a leak, and they luckily met a vessel bound for Virginia and quitted the sloop when she was near sinking.

## 302 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

30th. I received a letter from Col. Bouquet of the 27th that on the 8th instant there had been a flood at Fort Pitt twenty-two inches higher than that of last year. Part of the Ramparts was fallen into the Ditch towards the Monongahela, but the front riveted with bricks was not hurt. Some Trader's houses and the timber I had ordered to be prepared for building batteaus were carried off, two inhabitants drowned; the provision, ammunition and stores in the Fort saved. The flood of last year rose thirty-five feet.

*April:*

6th. Capt. Legge of the 46th arrived from the Havana with Lieut. Brady and a Detachment of the Royal Artillery in the Venus Transport. One man died in the Passage.

7th. I received a letter from Capt. Etherington at Michillimakinac of 20th January acquainting me that he had an account from Lt. James who had taken post at the Sault de Ste. Marie, that on the 10th of December the fire had taken thro' the soldiers chimney where the Provision and Ammunition was lodged, which took fire and blew off the top of the house and in less than an hour one of the Curtines of the Fort with the Officers' and Soldiers' Barracks were burnt to the ground, which with his provision and ammunition being consumed, obliged him to send his Garrison away, and they arrived at Michillimakinac 25th December. Lt. James narrowly escaped with his life by getting out of a window, but was so much burnt he could not go in the batteau with the garrison but remained at St. Mary's. One of his men had been killed by the fall of a tree . . .

12th. I finished my dispatches for England to send by the Pitt Packet; she got out the 13th in the morning with a fine wind.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 303

18th. The Halifax Packet arrived; sailed from Falmouth 5th March. I had no Dispatch from the Secretary of State; my last letters were of 12th February from the Secretary of War.

26th. I wrote my dispatches for England to send by the Harriot Packet. They had suffered so much in coming from England she could not be ready for sea 'till this day. She sailed the 27th in the morning with a fair wind.

*May:*

4th. The Duke of Cumberland Packet arrived; sailed from Falmouth 23rd March and brought the definite treaty which was signed at Paris on the 10th February. What adds greatly to this event is that His Majesty's endeavors to restore a general peace seems to be complicated by a conclusion of a treaty between the Queen of Hungary, King of Prussia and King of Poland which was signed on the 15th February, His Prussian Majesty keeping in his possession everything he had before the war commenced. I wrote to the Governours of Georgia, South and North Carolina and Virginia as also to Mr. Stuart, Agent of Indian affairs, in consequence of a letter I received from the Secretary of State. I also wrote to Commodore Spry relative to giving possession of the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon to the French. Sent a letter I had received from the Secretary of State to the Governour of Placentia.

8th. The Intrepid man of war, Capt. Hale, who has wintered here and has been waiting to get out for some time past, sailed this morning to the North River to be ready to get out when the tides will serve.

9th. As the 17th Regt. was to assemble to be mustered I took the opportunity of reviewing them on Long Island, the

## 304 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

whole under arms exclusive of Comissioned and including Sergeants and

Drummers .....	157		
Sick present .....	24		
at Crown Point .....	173		
recommended .....	13		
absent with leave .....	1		
sick in Hospital .....	12		
		380	
Reckoning 20		}	680
Contingent men there			
wants to complete .....	300		

680 includes 30 Sergeants, 30 Corporals, 20 Drummers, a vast diminution for a Regiment. All the men at Crown Point are Recruits raised since the Regt. came from the Havana, and some of the officers as well as the men have frequently relapses of their disorder . . .

14th. I wrote my letters for England and dispatched the Halifax Packet. The Packet boats are now to go regularly the second Saturday in every month, without something material should happen that I might detain them . . . I intended to have reviewed the Royal Highland Regt. on the 12th May when they were mustered, but as their quarters were so distant and they were collected in two divisions and I was to dispatch the Packet, I did not go to them. Their field return was, the whole under Arms exclusive of commissioned officers, and including Sergeants and Drummers.....169

Sick present ..... 71

Sick in general hospitals.... 19

# THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 305

on party .....	14
prisoner in New York .....	1
in quarters at Oyster Bay ....	189

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463

This company wants 377 to complete, tho' they are formed from the remains of both Battalions that came from the Havana.

Field return of 9 Companys of Montgomerys 13th May when they were mustered under arms, as above .....	219
Sick present .....	21
Sick in general hospitals .....	5
sick absent and with leave .....	11

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256

These 9 Companys want 446 to complete them.

The Intrepid was detained at the Hook for want of water to get over the Bar 'till the 23rd May, when Capt. Hale wrote to me that she had got out safe in the afternoon, the easterly wind having rose the tide six feet. I received his letter on the 24th by the Master of the Venus, which Transport I had sent down on purpose to assist the Intrepid in case of any accident.

28th. I received a letter from Mr. Gladwin<sup>168</sup> with accounts of the Indians having some bad designs. He sent me a bloody belt that Br. Holmes sent him from the Miami's Fort which the Indians had given up to him and declared it came from the Senecas. I sent it to Sir William Johnson to take such steps on the occasion as he might judge necessary.

*June:*

8th. I had a letter from Col. Bouquet enclosing one from Capt. Ecuyer commanding officer at Fort Pitt with an account

168 Major Gladwin commanded at Fort Detroit.

## 306 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

that the Indians had some evil intentions, that they had murdered two soldiers who were at the Saw Mill on 29th May, and Mr. Clapham and his family before that.

12th. I ordered the two companys of light infantry of the 42 and 77, that I had assembled at Staten Island on the report of the mischief the Indians had done, to march towards Philadelphia, and the Company of the 17th to embark for Albany and proceed to Fort Stanwix. It is extremely inconvenient to be sending these Corps away when I am in hourly expectation of receiving from England the Allotment for all the Troops, but I however think it necessary to be prepared for the worst the Indians can do, who in the dispersed situation of the troops may do mischief. Indeed they always may unless there were many more troops.

13th. I ordered the 17th Regt. to Albany and the remains of the 42 and 77th to assemble and encamp on Staten Island, that they may be ready to move towards Pittsburg, should it prove necessary.

16th. I received letters from Major Wilkins at Niagara of the 5th and 6th June with accounts of Lieut. Cuylers being attacked as he was going to the Detroit with Capt. Hopkins Company. He left the mouth of Lake Erie on the 13th May and on the 2nd landed at 10 at night about 25 miles from the mouth of the River Detroit. A man and a boy went along the beach to get firewood and at 100 yards two Indians jumped on them, tomahawked the boy; the man got back to camp and told the affair. Lt Cuyler got his men under arms, sent a Sergt. and 13 men who brought in the boy dead. He disposed of his men in the best manner he then could, but I fear they must have behaved as ill as possible, probably all fired on seeing the Indians, then on the appearance of some Indians threw away

their arms after one shot and run to the Lake. With this dastardly shameful behavior they got out with five boats. The Indians then fired from the shore, manned two boats, pursued and took back three of his boats, so that out of 96 men he had with him he brought off only 40, gave over all hopes of getting to the Detroit, went to Sandusky and found it burnt to the ground. From thence he proceeded to Presquise where he left six men with Ensign Christie to strengthen his party, set out from thence on the 4th June and reached Niagara the 5th. He left Niagara with ten batteaus and 139 barrels of provision and returned with two batteaus only. The greatest loss will always be where the worse behavior is, and they seem to have lost almost everything.

Another report of Van Vighen that he and 19 men (Sutlers and Traders) with six boats loaded with Indian goods, 15 barrels of gunpowder and five of wine going to the Detroit on the 2nd of June was fired at by some Indians when he was landed about 40 miles on the Lake. They got off 9 people in two boats and left 11 and four boats. They did not know whether they saw seven Indians or twenty, as they all disagreed as to their numbers. A third report of the 3rd June says the crews of the five batteaus had been attacked about ten miles from the River Niagara. On these reports I sent Capt. Dalyel away immediately the night of the 10th to Albany, Oswego and Niagara, to take up everything that could be spared from the Posts, to collect all the force I could at Niagara, that he might proceed to the Detroit, gave orders for stopping the Provincials whom I had ordered should set out for their provinces on the first of July, but they cannot now be spared. I wrote to the Governours accordingly, and I directed Capt. Loring to provide as soon as possible about 30 seamen for the Lakes that I may

## 308 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

have everything prepared for having such a force on the Lakes as will bring these miscreants to reason.

21st. I received a duplicate from Major Gladwin (the original not come) of 14th May acquainting me that on the 1st Pontiac,<sup>169</sup> the chief of the Ottawa nation came to him with about 50 of his men and said in a few days he intended, with several of his nation, to pay him a formal visit. The 7th he came but luckily the night before Major Gladwin was informed it was with an intention to surprise him, and took such precautions that when they entered the fort, tho' they were about 300 and armed with Knives, Tomahawks, and many with guns cut short hid under their blankets, they were so surprised at seeing his disposition for receiving that they would scarcely sit down to Council, as they saw their designs were discovered. This same morning he had sent a party who took Lt. Robertson and Sir Robert Davers in a barge near the entrance of Lake Huron and murdered them and all the crew. The 8th, Pontiac came to him with a pipe of peace to ask leave to come next day with his whole nation to renew the Friendship. This the Major refused, but told him he might come with his Chiefs; but instead of coming to him the 9th, he commenced Hostilities by killing all the King's cattle and the people that took care of them, besides two poor English families that were settled in the country, surrounded the Fort and fired a vast number of shot at it and the Vessels which were anchored so as to flank the fort above and below. The 10th they surrounded it again till 12 o'clock when there were proposals for an Accommodation which he was ready to listen to in order to get provisions, and sent Capt. Campbell, Lt. McDougall and some of the principal inhabitants to hold a council with him. They insisted he should deliver up the Fort as Mr. Bellestre did and leave all the

merchandise. The Major got his provisions and answered he would not give it to him or any of his Brethren; the two officers remained with the Indians and the Major has two Indians in Lieu of them. The 12th June they again surrounded the Fort and fired four hours briskly but were repulsed with some loss. He writes they had provision and ammunition enough till a relief comes, that the Indians amounted to six or seven hundred. The schooner arrived at Niagara the 15th June and Major Wilkins immediately dispatched her with a Lieut., two Sergeants, a Corporal and 50 men with ample supply of ammunition and provisions. It is very lucky that we have these vessels or there would not be a possibility of reinforcing Detroit or sending provisions till I could collect such a force as would be able to attack all the Indians in their passage. Probably the schooners must have sailed from the Detroit many days after the 14th May and perhaps brought me another letter that is lost. As I have made all preparations I am able to do, I had nothing remaining to be done on the receipt of this news. The remains of the 42nd and 77th encamped on Long Island were now ready to march and on the 22nd June I ordered them to march the next day. The 42nd had sent two complete companies of 70 and officers, and the 77th had sent one to Philadelphia to proceed to Pittsburg where the remainder follows, the remains of the 42nd making 214 and the 77th 133; the whole gone that way including officers 587. The sick were sent to the Hospital, and about 40 besides who were fit for Garrison duty I sent with a Captain to Albany and ordered the company of the 55th to Oswego.

28th. Major General Monckton sailed for England in the Edward Merchant vessel. I wrote by him to Lord Egremont to acquaint him of the mischief the Indians were doing, and that

## 310 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

I should try to put a stop to it as soon as possible and with as little loss as may be of His Majesty's subjects.

*July:*

7th. I received an express from Colonel Bouquet with intelligence that a soldier of Capt. Cochrans company was come into Fort Pitt and declared he left Presquisle the 22nd June, and that on the 19th being monday, that Post was attacked by 250 Indians. The Garrison defended themselves that day and the next. The third day Ensign Christie capitulated; they were to escort the Garrison to Pittsburg with six days provisions, but after pillaging the blockhouse they massacred the Garrison, this man and two others excepted, who flew to the woods. The Indians were of four different nations, Ottawas, Chipewas, Wiandots and Senecas. He passed by Le Bouf and Venango and found them both destroyed. It is amazing that an officer could put so much faith in the promises of the Indians as to capitulate with them, when there are so many recent instances of their never failing to massacre the people whom they can persuade to put themselves in their power. The officer and garrison would have had a much better chance for their lives if they had defended themselves to the last, and if not relieved, they had confided to a retreat thro' the woods or got off in a boat in the night. These people are undoubtedly murdered unless the Indians may have feared to do it lest we may retaliate. There is absolutely nothing but fear of us that can hinder them from committing all the cruelties in their power.

Ensign Price who commanded at Le Bouf was attacked the 18th June. The Indians got possession of the lower store and set fire to his house, he says, with their arrows; he retreated in the night and brought seven men into Pittsburg on 26th June and left six men behind him in the woods on his march. Ensign Price arrived at Venango the 20th in the night and found it

burnt to the ground; no account of what has become of that Garrison or of the Garrison of Sandusky. The destruction of Presquise which of course will follow the capitulation is of bad consequence as it will cost time and great labour to replace a block-house there, and the post is an important one. I sent away Lt. Montresor to Capt. Dalyel so soon as I received this news.

I received a letter from Gov. Keppel<sup>170</sup> of 13th June, that he feared the Corps that might be ordered to this continent would be chiefly composed of officers, for that the number of soldiers entitled to their discharges, with the Invalids, added to the great incompletness of the Army, would reduce them almost to nothing. On this intelligence I thought it necessary to order the Recruiting officers to begin again to recruit.

*July:*

11th. I had another letter from Gov. Keppel of 27th June. He had been a long while in expectation of orders from England, the hot weather come in and the whole Garrison impatient to get away.

17th. The Pitt Packet arrived and I received His Majesty's orders for the Arrangement of the troops here, so far as reducing and disbanding of Corps. With the regiments that were ordered from the Havana, and those that I should send to Europe, the disturbed state the back part of the Settlements is in by the mischief the Indians are committing admits of no change 'till the regiments arrive from the Havana, so that I concluded at the present moment only to fix the Garrisons at Newfoundland by reducing those companys, as well as the 45th Regt. at Louisburg to the new establishment, as also the company of Artillery at Newfoundland and the one at Halifax. I

<sup>170</sup> At Havana which had been held since the capture. It was restored to Spain in exchange for the Floridas in July, 1763.

## 312 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

divided the three companys of the 45th at St. Johns, and the company of Artillery between that Fort and Placentia, and ordered the Company of the 40th to Halifax.

List of the 20 Regts. for the service of America as I received it from the Secretary at War:

4	Duroures	.....at	Guadaloupe,	to go to Neutral Islands
63	Boothbys	.....	Dto	" " " Grenades
38	Talbots	.....	Antigua	" " " Antigua
43	Noels	.....	Havana	" " " Jamaica
49	Stanwix	.....	Jamaica	" " " "
9	Whitmores	....	Havana	" " " Florida &ce.
35	Otways	.....	"	" " " "
22	Gages	.....	"	" " " Louisiana
34	Cavendish	.....	"	" " " "
15	Amherst	.....	"	" " " America
27	Warburtons	....at	Havana,	to go to America
28	Townshends	..	"	" " "
40	Armigers	.....	"	" " "
46	Murrays	.....	"	" " "
17	Moncktons	.....in	North America,	to go to America
42	Lord John			
	Murray	....	" " " " " "	" " " "
44	Abercrombie	..	" " " " " "	" " " "
45	J. Boscauens	..	" " " " " "	" " " "
60	1st Br. Prevost	"	" " " " " "	" " " "
60	2nd Br.			
	Murray	...	" " " " " "	" " " "

23rd. I wrote my dispatches for England to dispatch the Pitt Packet that was ready to return being the only Packet here. Col. Lyman went in her. I sent my dispatches by Capt. Price. They are to inform the Secretary of State of the

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 313

further depredations the Indians had committed since my last, and of the measures I had taken to check them and to chastise them, and I acquainted the Secretary at War of what I judged necessary to do in regard to the intended reduction. The Packet sailed the 24th in the morning.

26th. Capt. Gmelin of the 3rd Battn. of the Americans arrived with part of 375 discharged, in the Briton Transport, the remaining being in the Prince George where Major of Brigade Sheene is, and they parted at sea. He brought me a letter from Mr. Keppel the Governour of 3rd July acquainting me of the arrival of the Spanish Garrison commanded by the Conde de Riela on the 30th June with the King's sign manual for his putting the City of Havana and its Dependencies into the possession of the crown of Spain. As he received no directions from England with regard to the destination of the troops, he was obliged to act in the dark, so sent the 3rd Battalion of R. Americans to Pensacola, and the four companys of Royal to St. Augustin, as he received His Catholic Majestys orders to the Governours, of those forts to deliver them up with all Florida, and all the rest of the troops he intended to take with him to England as he could no longer with any safety stay at the Havana. The worms destroyed the Shipping too much. Capt. Gmelin sailed the 8th and says the Governour was to sail the 10th having given up the city before Capt. Gmelin came away and Admiral Keppel intended to go back to Jamaica. It is unlucky that Mr. Keppel did not think of sending the Regiments this way if he could have done it, as then the orders sent from England might be obeyed without any difficulty, and it will be very lucky if the orders from England may arrive at the Havana between the 8th and the time he purposed to sail.

29th. The Dublin arrived off the Hook and sent up six transports with the 15th, 27th, 28th, 40th and 46th Regiments,

## 314 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

and brought me letters from G. Keppel. He sailed from the Havana the 10th, having received the Kings orders for giving up the place. The Captain of the Swift sloop of war arrived there four days after he had sailed, but very judiciously followed the fleet, preferably, to going to the Admiral at Jamaica and he luckily overtook them the 18th June after they were clear of the Gulph in Latitude 30 : 20. Nothing could fall out more opportunely than this considering they had sailed so long, and Gov. Keppel immediately dispatched the 22nd and 34th Regts. to Louisiana and the 9th and 35th to Florida, but having no men to take home in the Spanish men of war he could not complete their Regts as was intended from the Corps that were ordered to Europe, and were divided in the Spanish ships to help take them home, which is rather unlucky and must retard the completing the Regts to the new establishment. I directly made the disposition for the allotment of the several Corps, sending the 15th and 27th to Quebec, 28th to Montreal, 40th to Nova Scotia, 46th to Albany; 31st and 46th sailed in sloops for Albany. I had this day letters from Major Gladwin of 8th July and from Capt. Dalyel at Presquisle the 15th of July. Major Gladwin transmitted me the account he had received from the upper Posts that had all been surprised and taken by the Indians, coming as friends in their usual way, and by a too accustomed and ill-judged confidence of the Officers in these savages, the whole (Major Gladwin excepted) have been deceived by the Villains. The 30th June the schooner arrived at the Detroit with a reinforcement of 50 men. The 4th July he sent out Lt. Hay with forty men to fetch in some things he wanted. The Indians hearing of it, came down towards them. The Major reinforced them with 20 men and sent Capt. Hopkins who beat them back, killed three, one a chief, and pursued the rest half a mile; on this they butchered poor Capt. Campbell

who was with them. He thinks the Hurons and Puttwatamis the least culpable; they want to make peace and might be easily set upon the Ottawas and Chippewas. Major Gladwin judges all this mischief is greatly owing to some disaffected Canadians seconded by French traders who have made the Indians believe the Cessation of Arms that he published was a mere fiction and that there was a French army and fleet coming up the River St. Lawrence and from the Illinois. It is not impossible the French traders may have gone too great lengths in trying to engross the trade to themselves and to exclude totally the British merchants. Capt. Etherington of the R. A. Regiment suffered himself to be surprised at Mickillimakinac on the 2nd June when the Indians were playing at ball out of the Gate, and Captain and Lt. Lessley very stupidly and unlike officers walked out so as to permit the Indians who threw a ball toward the Fort, to intercept them, seized them and carried them into the woods, while many rushed into the Fort where they had planted the squaws with hatchets under their blankets; in an instant they killed Lt. James and fifteen men and a trader, taking the rest prisoners, being fifteen more.

Lt. Jenkins was taken the 1st of June at his Post at Ouiatanon and the Indians intended to carry him to the Illinois. The belt arrived there the day before; he thinks the Canadians concerned, but the English merchants will always accuse the Canadians and it is difficult to come at the truth.

Ensign Pauli who commanded at Sandosky was surprised the 16th May, by permitting seven Indians to come into his Post and giving them tobacco to smoke, four Hurons and three Ottawas. They bound him, and on going out, found every man of his garrison massacred and the Fort surrounded by Indians, the merchants all killed and everything plundered. They took him away prisoner to near the Detroit and on 3rd July he made

## 316 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

his escape and got into the Fort. Ensign Schlosser who commanded at St. Josephs was surprised on the 25th May. The Indians massacred all the garrison except three men and plundered the Fort. Ensign Holmes who commanded at the Miamis was told by a squaw who lived with him that there was another squaw in a cabin about 300 yards off who was very ill and wanted to be bled, on which he ran out; on which some Indians who lay in wait shot him. The Sergeant went out to see what was the matter; they took him, and nine men who were left in the Fort shut the gates, but the Indians telling them they would be put to death if they did not capitulate, they gave it up. Three of the men were taken three days before.

Ensign Christie who commanded at Presquisle capitulated with the Indians on 25th June; he and his garrison was carried to the Indian villages near the Detroit. The Indians were Hurons and said they were compelled by the Ottawas . . .

12th. I had a letter from M. Wilkins of 26th July that on the 22nd an express he sent on horseback to the Post on Lake Erie side, little Niagara, was scalped, and his horse found shot laying near him, and that two seamen belonging to Capt. Loring who had like stupid fools gone two miles up a river with two soldiers to fish, without arms, six Indians fired at them, killed the seamen and the soldiers got off. The 23rd July all Capt. Loring's party consisting of seamen and others, 70 persons, were ready to sail in the schooner for the Detroit . . .

23rd. I had a letter from Col. Bouquet from Edge Hill, 26 miles from Fort Pitt, and of the 5th August, acquainting me that he marched the 4th from Fort Ligonier with the troops and 340 horses loaded with flour, and that at 1 o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th after a march of 17 miles, the savages attacked his advanced guard which was immediately supported

by two Light Infantry companies of 42nd who drove the enemy from their ambuscade and pursued them a good way. The savages returned to the attack, and the fire being obstinate on his Front and along his Flanks, he made a general charge with his whole line and dislodged the savages from the Heights, but without obtaining by it any decisive advantage, for as soon as they were driven from one post they appeared on another, till by continual reinforcements they were at last able to surround him, and attacked the Convoy left in his rear, which obliged him to march back to protect it. The action<sup>171</sup> then became general, and tho' the savages exerted themselves with uncommon resolution, they were constantly repulsed with loss. The troops also suffered considerably, Capt. Lt. Graham and Lt. James McIntosh of the 42nd being killed and Capt. Graham wounded, Lt. Dow of the R. A. Regt. shot through the body and Lt. Donald Campbell and Volunteer Peebles of the 77th wounded. He supposes his loss in men, including rangers and drivers, exceeds 60 killed or wounded. The action lasted from one o'clock till night and he expected to begin again at daybreak. He said he could not sufficiently acknowledge the constant assistance he had received from Major Campbell, nor express his admiration at the cool and steady behavior of the troops, who did not fire a shot without orders and drove the enemy from their posts with fixed bayonets, and that the conduct of the officers was much above his praises.

25th. The Prince George Transport with the recruiting party of 40th Regt. under the command of Capt. Bradstreet, and clothing for the five companies of Montgomerys at Halifax, sailed for that place. The Venus Transport with the recruits and partys of the 9th, 35th, 22nd and 34th Regts., the Hannah Brig and the Royal and Curacao sloops with provisions &c were to sail this day under the command of Lt. Col. Robertson who I

## 318 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

sent to Florida and Louisiana to settle all matters in that country, taking upon him and continuing with the command, so long as he should see it necessary.

26th. Lt. Col. Robertson with the troops and vessels under his command got out to sea.

Capt. Basset, Engineer, arrived from Fort Pitt, brought me a letter from Col. Bouquet of the 6th August from his camp at Bushy Run, and of the 15th August from Fort Pitt where he arrived with the troops of the 10th, and found that the Delawares, Shawanese, Wiandots and Mingens had made a shew of attacking the Fort from the 24th of July to the 1st of August when they quitted it to meet the troops that were coming to reinforce it. Col. Bouquet, after the attack on the 5th, took post for the night on the hill where the convoy had halted, and the next morning, the 6th, the savages surrounded him and made several efforts to force him, but he by a manoeuvre that he made intending that the savages should take it for a retreat and entice them to come nearer, which had the desired effect, sallied out on them from a post they did not expect with two companies of Light Infantry commanded by Major Campbell who killed many and put the rest to flight. Two other companies were so posted as to catch them in their retreat and entirely dispersed them, and the whole fled; he afterwards marched without other molestation than a few dropping shots. Col. Bouquet sent all useless hands away from Fort Pitt under convoy of 400 men under the command of Major Campbell, who was to take up the remains of the convoy that was left at Ligonier. Col. Bouquet lost in the two days actions 49 killed, 60 wounded, and five missing. The garrison of Fort Pitt lost from the 28th May to the 10th August, 7 killed, 10 wounded and two missing. Capt. Bassett supposes the Indians must have lost on the 5th and 6th 60 killed or mortally wounded.

Amongst the former is luckily the villain who laid the country waste from Fort Pitt to Fort Bedford, viz. Kickyusung. The Wolfe's Rifle was found, so he too is probably killed; and a third named Butler was killed at Fort Pitt; which three scoundrels murdered Colonel Clapham, and these rascals have been at all times treated by the officers at Fort Pitt and on the communication as if they had been their brothers. I had a letter from Major Campbell of 17th August; he was to march again for Fort Pitt on the 18th. Col. Stephens was arrived at Ligonier with some of the Virginia Volunteers when Capt. Basset came from thence; Col. Stephens behavior is very commendable. Col. Bouquet praises Capt. Sawyer extremely for the repairs he had made to the Fort and the conduct he had held there and his treatment of the Indians appears to have been very proper. On the 2nd September I received letters from Major Gladwin of the 8th and 11th August acquainting me that Capt. Dalyell arrived at the Detroit on the 29th July with the detachment under his command. On his way he had landed at Sandusky with an intent to attack the Indians of that village, but found it abandoned so could do no more than destroy what he found there. On the 30th he requested of Major Gladwin to give him a command to surprise Pontiac's camp, imagining that the Indians would soon disperse and get away unpunished. He accordingly in the night marched out with 247 men and two armed boats rowing up the river with an intent to cover the retreat and take in any wounded men. The distance of the camp from the Fort was about two miles, and unfortunately the Indians were apprised of his march and consequently were prepared to obstruct it before he reached their camp by having taken possession of the houses and most desirable places from which they fired on the troops. He nevertheless drove them from several of their posts, but being wounded himself and the fire from the Indians galling the troops it was

## 320 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

judged advisable not to persist in the attack. This scheme of Capt. Dalyell which was well concerted, and I am convinced would not have failed of success, had not the Indians been apprised of it, failed from the intelligence being given them, and Capt. Dalyell after having received two wounds was bringing off some wounded men, that they might not fall in the hands of the savages, when he received a third that put an end to his life which I most sensibly lament as the loss of a worthy man and most excellent officer. Capt. Gray, Lts. Browne and Lake of the 55th Regts. were wounded and we had 19 men killed and 39 wounded. About 8 o'clock in the morning of the 31st the day they marched out, the detachment returned to the Fort, the retreat having been conducted with good order by Capt. Grant of the 80th.

### *September:*

3rd. I wrote my dispatches for England to send by the Marlborough Transport as there is no packet here. The 4th, the Marlborough sailed with the officers of the 48th and 56th Regts. and some reduced officers, in the whole 17 officers, the Director and people of the Havana Hospital, 40 invalids of Regts. and some officers widows and some soldiers wives and widows.

7th. The Halifax Packet arrived here; sailed from Falmouth 16th July and brought dispatches of the 9th. The new establishment for the Forms of Government in the conquered countries not yet come out; may expect it by next packet. The Duke of Cumberland packet was arrived in England six days before the Halifax sailed, she carried an account of the evil designs of the Indians.

10th. I received a letter from M. Wilkins of 31st August with Lt. Montresors<sup>172</sup> account of the loss of the sloop on Lake

<sup>172</sup> John Montresor, an engineer officer, son of James Montresor, was in charge of a relief expedition to Detroit. His Journal describing his adventures was found among the Amherst papers, and has been published by Dr. J. C. Webster.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 321

Erie, which is unfortunate at this time, tho' not of so bad consequence as if it had happened sooner. By the violence of the winds and waves, she sprung a leak, started a plank and became waterlogged that they expected every moment to be lost. They threw overboard 80 Barrels of provisions, one 6-Pounder, two 4-Pounders, 1 iron cohorn and 1 iron 6-Pounder, besides other Stores. The crew and men on board got on shore and took Post for their security. Montresor supposed they were 79 miles from Presquise. It was happy no one was drowned and it may not be impossible to recover the vessel if help gets there in time. This happened on the 28th August and will retard M. Gladwin in his operations.

15th. I received a letter from Major Forbes of 35th Regt. from South Carolina 24th August. He had been at St. Augustin from whence he went to Charles Town to water and get provisions and vessels to go to Pensicola, and arrived at Charles Town twelve days before his letter to me. He ordered the old Transport to proceed to England; he expected to sail in a few days. This day the King George Transport loaded with provisions sailed for Pensicola and the Mobile.

16th. The Amity's Benediction Transport sailed for Halifax with some reduced officers and orders to Col. Forster to send 120 drafts to Louisburg for the 45th Regt.

17th. I wrote my dispatches to send by the Halifax Packet. Major Hervey and Capt. Lt. Bassett went in the Packet. The Packet got out of the Hook not till the 20th in the morning, having been detained by contrary winds.

27th. I heard that Capt. Cochrane who had joined Capt. Hope and Lt. Montresor on the lake side where the sloop ran aground was attacked by some Indians on the 3rd and lost three men; he drove the Indians off . . .

## 322 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

30th. Capt. Towers arrived from Oswego and brought me a letter from Lt. Col. Browning of the 16th giving a very disagreeable account of an attack being made on the 14th by a very large body of Indians, supposed 500, on a convoy of a Sergeant and 28 men of Wilmot's, returning with the waggons from the Fort at the lower landing, and that on hearing the fire, Lt. Fraser and Lt. Campbell of Wilmot's who were encamped there with two Companys marched to reinforce the convoy, and almost the whole were destroyed and cut off, Lieut. Campbell laying with 16 men close together in the front. Lt. Rosco of the Artillery, Capt. Johnson of the Jersey Provincials and Lt. Deyton of the New Yorkers were also killed, in the whole about 71 killed, and about 20 had got into Niagara, almost the whole of them wounded. This is according to his letter, but by a return he sent me, 72 were killed or missing of rank and file, including two Servants and six Sergeants killed. This is an unfortunate affair, Lts. Campbell and Fraziers Zeal in running to the fire was very commendable. They probably huddled together more than they would have done on any other occasion and were surrounded by the Indians before they knew it and must have been quite overpowered by numbers. The loss of the oxen, horses, and all the waggons destroyed, is great, and renders the supplies to the Detroit very difficult, but more oxen were immediately forwarded from Oswego. The 48th arrived at Niagara on the 13th.

### *October:*

4th. I gave a note to Capt. Towers to concert with Col. Bradstreet for the building 50 batteaus and as many whale-boats that the timbers might be cut and sawed off the proper dimensions this fall at Oswego, to build them as early as possible in the spring.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 323

5th. I received a letter from M. Gladwin of 9th Sept. that the schooner loaded with provisions had got into the river on the 3rd and on the 4th in the morning. Six Mohawk Indians who were sent in the schooner wanted to go on shore, which the master permitted. The wind was contrary and the schooner could not get up and at night (what was very natural to happen) a number of savages, 350, came down in canoes to attack the vessel and attempted to board her. The crew after firing their guns and defending themselves with their small arms, were obliged to take to their spears as the savages got under her bow and stern. After some time the Indians cut her cable, to which there was luckily a spring so that she swung about with her bow to the current, and they brought some of the guns to bear on the canoes. This surprised the Indians and they gave over the attack and dispersed. The Master and one man was killed on board, four were wounded and six remained unhurt. The Indians (M. Gladwin had certain information) had seven killed and 20 wounded, of which eight had died. The schooner got safe to the Detroit from where she was attacked, which was about fourteen miles from it. Nothing could be more thoughtless and unaccountable than permitting the Master to sail without any guard for the defence of the vessel, when he was going to the jaws of the Savages who would certainly take every occasion they could to attempt it. The Master's permitting the Mohawks to go on shore was not less inconsiderate and imprudent, like our trusty, faithful friends (as all Indians are) they, as they ever will do, certainly told the savages everything they knew of the vessel, and as soon as they heard there were but twelve men on board and loaded with provisions, it could not fail to induce them to make the attempt. The defence the twelve men made was as extraordinary in its bravery and perseverance, as the other neglects were unaccountable. Indeed the only

## 324 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

chance they had of preserving their lives (exclusive of every other reason) was to fight to the last man, for had the Indians taken them they would have been put to the torture. The schooner on her return to Niagara side took the provisions from the sloop which is unluckily entirely lost, and Lt. Montresor & sailed in her on the 25th. M. Wilkins, Moncrieffe, and a strong detachment were preparing to set off for the Detroit the same day the Supernumerarys from the Montreal Government amounting in the whole to near 200 men, set out from Oswego for Niagara.

The Garrison of Quebec had mutinied on the orders for paying 4 pence for provision, but Governour Murray very judiciously quelled it and brought them to reason . . .

8th. I had letters from Lt. Col. Tullekens that the men of the 45th had represented they could not live if they were to pay 4 pence for their provisions, by which they had but 13 pence per week remaining. Washing cost them 6 pence, spruce beer  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , barber 1; a little tobacco took the rest, and they wanted to know who would pay for their Leggings, Shirts, Stockings and Shoes which they were obliged to buy yearly or starve with cold. He therefore stopped the enforcing the payment of provisions till further orders . . .

17th. I sat out for Albany with a very fair wind but it afterwards proved contrary and I arrived sixteen miles below Albany on the 20th. Wrote to Col. Bradstreet and to Sir. William Johnson to meet me at Albany.

22nd. I settled matters with Col. Bradstreet in regard to the intended operations for the spring, received a letter from Sir Wm. Johnson that some Indians were come to him, but he would get rid of them as soon as he could and come to me.

## THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST 325

24th. In the afternoon Sir William arrived and brought about 20 Indians with him which he told me he could not help, as he could not get from them. Luckily the two companies from Crown Point were come in or they would have seen Albany without any troops; that I should have been sorry for, tho they pretend to be our friendly Indians. They were of the Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks. I thought it best not to see them for they would have kept me two days, tho' they had nothing to say, or I anything to tell them more than I have done. Sir William thought nothing more could be done till the spring when I told him I purposed to collect 3,000 men to proceed by Niagara for the punishment of the Indians who have committed hostilities, and any of our friendly Indians who liked to join us might. He thought the Senecas, Delawares and Shawnese deserved the most severe punishment and he said should be tortured as they do our people. He was afraid the five Nations might be induced to join the other Nations, tho' they had given him the strongest assurances of their attachment to the English, but he said, all the promises, tho' ever so well performed on our part, or from whoever they came, availed not, if they had any one to tell them that the English intended them any evil. They would always listen to that and credit it before the other, and the dream of a squaw was sufficient to determine them to any belief; that lately the Indians above the Detroit had butchered ten prisoners from a squaw having dreamt ten men must be killed and then they should have success. I sailed at night of the 24th and got to New York the 27th in the morning.

30th. The Weasle sloop of War arrived from Halifax. I had a letter from Lord Colville acquainting me of his being come there to take command of the Ships. The Enterprise being gone to England I concluded to go in the Weasle as 'tis the only occasion I may have. The Hawke Sloop of War, Capt. Brown, arrived here, being one of the stationed vessels for this coast.

## 326 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

*November:*

1st. I had dispatches from Lake Erie, a letter from M. Gladwin of the 7th October that everything was going on well. On the 2nd he sent out four batteaus, made row-gallies under the command of Lt. Brehme up the river to reconnoitre, and about four miles above the Fort the Indians in 25 canoes and batteaus attacked him on all sides and they continued an hour, but he received them so well with his grape, which he fired with success that they made off in the utmost confusion and he thinks he must have killed many as the grape certainly took place on some of the canoes. Lt. Brehme had one man killed and three wounded. The Major likewise says he took possession of some of the houses not far from the Fort which the savages attempted to retake, but could not succeed and he had killed and wounded several in the attempts. The Monckton Transport arrived from Halifax with Capt. Lt. Simpson and 57 men of the Royal Artillery and a Lt. and 46 men of Gorham's, which I ordered directly to Albany and Fort Stanwix to be drafted to the 17th.

7th. I had a letter from Mr. Moncrieffe of the 19th October and from Col. Browning 22nd. Moncrieffe said all was going well, and they set off the 19th with the loss of one boat that went adrift, but Col. Browning wrote that two of the rear boats had been fired on by a party of Indians and Lt. Johnson of late Gorhams was killed. It must have happened after Moncrieffe wrote and I fear most of the men in the two batteaus killed or wounded.

9th. I had a letter from Philadelphia that another convoy was going up to Fort Pitt.

---

Amherst sailed to England, in the Sloop-of-War *Weasel*, about the middle of November.

A STATE OF THE PROVINCIAL TROOPS IN 1759			
<i>Provinces or Colonies</i>	<i>Number of Men &amp; Officers Voted</i>	<i>Number Raised</i>	<i>Were Employed</i>
Newhamphshire	800	700	<div> <div> Oswego Nova Scotia* Louisbourg* Penobscot Quebec Crown Point 5753 </div> </div>
Massachusetts Bay	6500	5753	
Rhode Island	1000	694	Crown Point
Connecticut	5000	3640	Crown Point
New York	2680	2250	Oswego, &c
New Jersey	1000	928	Crown Point
Pennsylvania	2700	2070	Fort Pitt, &c
Maryland	.....	.....	.....
Virginia	1000	800	Fort Pitt, &c
North Carolina	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina	.....	.....	.....
	20680	16835	

\* These were ordered to Remain during the Winter, but they took all opportunity of Deserting inso-much that few remained by the 1st May & those that did refused to do Duty.

## B

## STATE OF THE PROVINCIAL TROOPS IN 1760

<i>Provinces or Colonies</i>	<i>Number of Men &amp; Officers Voted</i>	<i>Number Raised</i>	<i>Were Employed</i>
Newhampshire	800	796	Crown Point &c 300 Louisbourg
Massachusetts Bay	5500	4964	200 Nova Scotia 4464 Crown Point &c 4964
Rhode Island	1000	952	Crown Point, &c
Connecticut	5000	3397	Oswego, &c
New York	2680	2468	Oswego, &c
New Jersey	1000	935	Oswego, &c
Pennsylvania	2700	1350	Fort Pitt, &c
Maryland	.....	.....	.....
Virginia	1000	1000	Back Country
North Carolina	500	.....	.....
South Carolina	1000	80	Fort P. George
	21180	15942	

C  
STATE OF THE PROVINCIAL TROOPS IN 1761

<i>Provinces or Colonies</i>	<i>Number of Men &amp; Officers Voted</i>	<i>Number Raised</i>	<i>Were Employed</i>	<i>Remained during the winter</i>
Newhampshire	534	438	Crown Point	51
Massachusetts Bay	3220	2637	{1637 Crown Point Halifax	323 } 268 }
Rhode Island	666	395	Fort Stanwix	64
Connecticut	2300	2000	Crown Point	323
New York	1787	1547	Oswego, &c	173
Pennsylvania	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia	1000	1000	Back Country	.....
North Carolina	500	225	Ditto	.....
South Carolina	1000	500	Agnst the Cherokees	.....
	11607	9296		1266

D  
STATE OF THE PROVINCIAL TROOPS IN 1762

<i>Provinces or Colonies</i>	<i>Number of Men &amp; Officers Voted</i>	<i>Number Raised</i>	<i>Were Employed</i>	<i>Remained during the winter</i>
Newhamshire	534	534	Crown Point	51
Massachusetts Bay	3220	2991	Crown Point	323 } 591
			Halifax	262 }
Rhode Island	666	653	2637	
			Fort Stanwix	436
			Havannah	217
Connecticut	2300	2300	653	64
			Crown Point	1388
			Havannah	912
New York	1787	1474	2300	323
			Oswego	907
			Havannah	567
New Jersey	666	595	1474	173
			Niagara	373
			Havannah	222
Pennsylvania	.....	.....	595	64
			.....	.....
			.....	.....
			Encamped at Fort Fredericksburgh	.....
			.....	.....
Maryland	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia	1000	657	.....	.....
North Carolina	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina	.....	.....	.....	.....
10173		9204	1266	

E  
STATE OF THE RECRUITS DEMANDED  
OF THE SEVERAL PROVINCES FOR  
FILLING OF THE REGULAR CORPS  
IN THE YEAR 1762

<i>Provinces or Colonies</i>	<i>Demanded</i>	<i>Voted</i>	<i>Raised</i>
Newhampshire	143	143	38
Massachusetts Bay	893	893	213
Rhode Island	178	178	64
Connecticut	893	575	7
New York	479	479	79
New Jersey	178	178	14
Pennsylvania	482	.....	.....
Maryland	84	.....	.....
Virginia	268	268	268
North Carolina	134	.....	48
South Carolina	268	268	57
	<u>4000</u>	<u>2982</u>	<u>788</u>

Raised  
by the  
Govt.

F  
 RECAPITULATION  
 OF THE NUMBER OF PROVINCIAL TROOPS  
 VOTED AND RAISED, IN THE YEARS  
 1759, 1760, 1761 & 1762

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number Voted</i>	<i>Number Raised</i>	<i>Remained during the winter</i>
1759	20,680	16,835	.....
1760	21,180	15,942	.....
1761	11,607	9,296	1266
1762	10,173	9,204	1266
	<hr/> <hr/> 63,640	<hr/> <hr/> 51,277	<hr/> <hr/> 2532

## G

## FRENCH SHIPS OF WAR BUILT IN CANADA

<i>Year</i>		<i>Guns</i>
1742	<i>Le Canada</i>	40
1744	<i>Le Caribou</i>	50
1747	<i>Le Castor</i>	30
1748	<i>La Martre</i>	20
1749	<i>Le St-Laurent</i>	60
	<i>Le Carcajou</i>	12
1750	<i>Le Maringouin</i>	12
1751	<i>L' Orignal</i>	64
	(This Vessel lost in launching.)	
1753	<i>L' Algonquin</i>	74
1755	<i>L' Abenquise</i>	36
1756	<i>Le Québec</i>	40

(The last vessel was destroyed on the Stocks.)



## INDEX



## A

Abercromby, James, General, sketch of, 10; defeated by Montcalm at Ticonderoga, 10; meets Amherst at Lake George, 92; leaves America, 105.

Abercromby, James, Jr., 85.

Amherst family, 1.

Amherst, John, R.N., 1.

Amherst, Jeffery, birth place, 1; family 1; early life, 2; commencement of military career, 2; service on the Continent, 2, 3, 4; service at home, 2, 4; appointment by Pitt to command Louisbourg expedition, 5, 6, 7; leaves Germany, 29; sails in *Dublin*, commanded by Captain Rodney, for Halifax, 33; operations during siege of Louisbourg, 9, 10, 51—72; details of proceedings after capture, 72—82; departure from Louisbourg for Boston, 83; leaves Albany for Lake George to meet General Abercromby, 92; journey from Lake George to New York, 93—94; travels via Boston to Halifax where he receives commission as Commander-in-Chief, 94—98; preparations for campaign against Ticonderoga and movement of troops, 107—125; arrival at Lake George and starting of fort, 12, 125; passage of Lake George with army, 141, 142; establishment of lines for attack on Fort Carillon or Ticonderoga, 143—146; advances to Crown Point evacuated by French, 150; operations and preparations for advance down Lake Champlain and attack on French vessel, 13, 158—182; criticisms on this campaign, 12, 14, 15; preparations for campaign of 1760, 16, 198—227;

leaves Oswego in boats for St. Lawrence river, 227; attack on French vessels, 231; attacks and captures Fort Levis, 233—240; descends river St. Lawrence and arrives at Montreal Island near Lachine, 244; receives letter from Mons. de Vaudreuil asking for cessation of arms, 246; sends Articles of Capitulation which M. de Vaudreuil accepts, 246; visits Quebec, 257; goes to New York, via Lake Champlain, 117, 259—263; operations against Cherokee Indians, 270; receives Order of the Bath, 17, 274; sends expedition to West Indies under Monckton, 275; sends force under Colonel Burton to Havana, 283; force under Lieut.-Col. Wm. Amherst sent to attack French in Newfoundland, 290; policy towards Indians, 18, 19, 20; military measures against Indians, 306—324; departure for England, 326; receives Knighthood, 21; builds "Montreal", his country house in Kent, 21; Governor of Virginia, 21; Lieutenant-general, 21; troubles over Virginia governorship, 21; Governor of Guernsey, 22; Lieutenant-general of Ordnance, 22; raised to peerage, 22; Commander-in-chief, 22; criticisms of his military command, 23; action in Gordon riots, 23; tries to secure Jesuit estates in Canada, 24; second marriage, 24; made Field-Marshal, 25; last days, 25; death, 25.

Amherst, William, sketch of, 1; sent to England with news of fall of Louisbourg, 72; commands force against French in Newfoundland, 290.

*Augusta*, wrecked on Cape Breton, 278.

# 338 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

## B.

- Babcock, Henry, Colonel, 176.  
 Balfour, Capt. George, at Louisbourg, 71.  
 Bastide, John Henry, Engineer, at Louisbourg, 53.  
 Bath, Order of, conferred on Amherst, 274.  
 Berekley, George, Bishop of Cloyne, 108.  
 Bernard, Francis, Governor of New Jersey, 106.  
 Bishop of Cloyne's House in Connecticut, 95.  
 Boishébert, Charles Deschamps de, at Louisbourg, 67.  
 Bontien, William, Engineer at Louisbourg, 64.  
 Boscawen, Hon. Edward, Admiral, 8; at Louisbourg, 49, 53.  
 Bougainville, Louis Antoine, Comte de, 120.  
 Bourlamaque, Chevalier de, 13; evacuates Fort Carillon, 13, 147.  
 Bouquet, Henry, Colonel, 20; fights Indians at Bushy Run, 317.  
 Bradstreet, John, Lieut.-Col., 121.  
 Brehm, D., Lieutenant, 112.  
 British rule in Canada, establishment of, 251.  
 Burton, Ralph, Lieut.-Colonel, 252; Governor of Three Rivers, 252.  
 Bushy Run, Battle of, 317.

## C.

- Campaign against Canada in 1760, preparations for, 198—227.  
 Canajoharie, on the Mohawk, 112.  
 Capitulation of Louisbourg, 71, 72.  
 Capitulation of Canada, 246.  
 Cessation of hostilities between France and England, 299.  
 Champlain, Lake, Naval operations by Amherst's force on, 1759, 179—181.

- Cherokee War, 270.  
 Christie, Gabriel, Major, 155.  
 Crown Point (see Fort Frederic).

## D.

- Dalyell (or Dalziell), James, Captain, 176.  
 Debberg, Hugh, 96.  
 Delancey, James, 93.  
 Des Gouttes, Marquis, commander of French ships at Louisbourg, 77.  
 Detroit, (see Fort Detroit).  
 Dorchester, Lord (Sir Guy Carleton), and the Jesuit estates in Canada, 24.  
 Drucour, Le Chevalier Augustin de, at Louisbourg, 52.  
*Dublin*, H.M.S., commanded by Captain Rodney, takes Jeffery Amherst to Halifax, 33; account of voyage, 33—46; at Louisbourg, 49.  
 Dumas, Jean Daniel, Major General, 248.  
 Dundonald, Earl of, killed at Louisbourg, 64, 68.  
 Durell, Philip, Commodore, at Louisbourg, 48, 50.

## E.

- Eyre, William, Lieut.-Col., 119.

## F.

- Fitch, Thomas, Governor of Connecticut, 104.  
 Forbes, John, General, captures Fort Duquesne, 11.  
 Fort Bull, 216.  
 Fort Carillon, (Ticonderoga), sketch of, 144; besieged by Amherst, 143—146; abandoned by French,

146; repaired and strengthened by Amherst, 147.  
 Fort Detroit, sketch of, 20; attacks on, 308, 314, 323.  
 Fort Edward, 92.  
 Fort Frontenac, 120.  
 Fort George, 125.  
 Fort Herkimer, 111, 214.  
 Fort Hunter, 213.  
 Fort Johnson, 213.  
 Fort Levis, account of, 232; attacked and captured, 233—240; repaired, 241.  
 Fort Miller, 92.  
 Fort Niagara, 151.  
 Fort Ontario, (Oswego), 218.  
 Fort Pitt, great floods at, 277, 302; attacked by Indians, 318.  
 Fort Prince George, 211.  
 Fort Schuyler, 215.  
 Fort Stanwix, 93.  
 Fort St. Frederic (Crown Point), sketch of, 151; evacuated by French and occupied by Amherst's force, 151; new fort ordered by Amherst, 14, 154.  
 Fort Ticonderoga (See Fort Carillon).  
 Fort William Augustus (formerly Fort Levis), 242.  
 French ships; destroyed by fire in Louisbourg harbor, 69; attacked in St. Lawrence, 231.  
 French troops, list of, at Montreal, 249, 250.  
 Freshwater Cove, Kennington, or Coromandière Cove, in Gabarus Bay, 58.  
 Frye, Mr. Justice, 210.

## G.

Gabarus Bay, arrival of British fleet, 47; landing of troops, 49, 50.

Gage, Thomas, 107; Governor of Montreal, 254.  
 Gambier, James, Captain, at Louisbourg, 48.  
 Gladwin, Henry, Major, 20; defends Detroit, 308.  
 Goreham, Joseph, Major, 297.  
 Grant, Francis, Lieut.-Col., 118.  
 Green Hill, west of Louisbourg, 53, 55, 58.  
 Gridley, Richard, Colonel, at Louisbourg, 57.

## H.

Haldimand, Frederick, Colonel, 24.  
 Hardy, Sir Charles, 8; Admiral, at Louisbourg, 50.  
 Havana, attack on, 283.  
 Haviland, William, Col., 15; arrives at Longueuil, 15, 247.  
 Howe, Hon. William, at Louisbourg, 58.

## I.

Indian unrest (in 1763), 305, 306, 307.  
 Island Battery at Louisbourg, 57.

## J.

Jacobs, Captain, in Rogers' Rangers, 90.  
 Johnson, Sir William, 11, 107, 109, 147, 151, 195, 199, 206, 209, 213, 223, 228, 243, 254, 267, 325.

## K.

Kennedy, Capt. David, 91.

# 340 THE JOURNAL OF JEFFERY AMHERST

## L.

- La Corne, Louis de St. Luc, 139.  
 La Corne, Pierre, Chevalier, 119.  
 Laforey, Capt. John, R.N., at Louisbourg, 71.  
 Lake George, 125.  
*L' Arethuse*, French frigate, commanded by Vauquelin, at Louisbourg, 61; forced to retire by Wolfe's battery, 62.  
 La Galette, on the St. Lawrence, 119.  
 Lawrence, Charles, Brig.-General, 18; at Louisbourg, 49.  
 Le Boeuf, fall of, 310.  
*L' Echo*, French frigate captured near Louisbourg, 55.  
 Lighthouse Point on Louisbourg Harbor, 51.  
 Ligonier, John or Jean, 4.  
 Lorembec, harbours, near Louisbourg, 49.  
 Loring, Joshua, Captain, 127.  
 Louisbourg, attempts to block harbor entrance, 60; proceedings following capture, 77—82.  
 Lyman, Phineas, General, 118.

## M.

- Mackellar, Patrick, Major, at Louisbourg, 51, 52, 61.  
 Martingne, capture of, 280.  
 Massey, Eyre, Lieut.-Col., 118.  
 Michillimakinac attacked by Indians, 315.  
 Monckton, Hon. Robert, 3; sent to mouth of River St. John, 81; Governor of New York, 274; commands expedition to West Indies, 275.  
 Moncrief, Thomas, Lieutenant, 151.  
 Montgomery, Archibald, Colonel of 77th Highlanders, 106.  
 Montreal Island, arrival of Amherst's army at, p. 245.

- Montresor, James, Engineer, 109.  
 Montresor, John, leads relief expedition to Detroit, 320.  
 Mount Johnson, 213.  
 Murray, Alexander, Major, at Louisbourg, 63.  
 Murray, James, 16; commanding force from Quebec, reaches Montreal Island, 16, 247.

## N.

- Newfoundland, French attack on, 288; defeat of French by force under Lieut.-Col. Wm. Amherst, 294.

## O.

- Oneida Castle, 216.  
 Oswego, vessels at, for expedition to Montreal (1760), 223; Indians in camp, 224; departure of troops for Montreal, 227; attack near, 322.

## P.

- Philipps Manor, 94.  
 Pitt, William, organizes Louisbourg campaign, 5, 6; selection of Amherst and Wolfe as officers, 5—7.  
 Pontiac, Ottawa Chief, 18; operations of, 19, 308—326.  
 Pouchot, M., Commander of Fort Lévis, 236.  
 Pownell, Thomas, 83.  
 Prescott, Robert, 110.  
 Presquite, fall of, 310.  
 Prideaux, John, Colonel, sent to Fort Niagara, 12; death, 147.  
 Provincial troops, state of, in 1759, 327; in 1760, 328; in 1761, 267.

329; in 1762, 279, 330; recruits, 1762; recapitulation, 332.  
*Prudent and Bienfaisant*, French ships in Louisbourg, captured in night attack, 71.  
 Putnam, Israel, Lieut.-Col., 159.

## R.

Radeau, artillery raft, 133.  
 Regiments, British in North America and West Indies (1763), 312.  
 Rodney, George Brydges, Captain, 8; commands *Dublin* to Nova Scotia, 33.  
 Rogers, Robert, Major, 124.  
 Rollo, Lord, sent from Louisbourg to occupy Isle St.-Jean, (now Prince Edward Island), 75.  
 Rous, Captain John, at Louisbourg, 47.  
 Royal American, regiment, at Louisbourg, 71.  
 Ruggles, Thomas, Lieut.-Col., 137.

## S.

Sackville family and Amherst, 1.  
 Sandusky, surprised by Indians, 315.  
 Schomberg, Alexander, R.N., at Louisbourg, 52.  
 Schuyler, Peter, 113.  
 Ships of War, French, built in Canada, 333.  
 Scotcook on the Hudson, 109.  
 Sken, Philip, Brigade Major, 137.  
 Spruce Beer, Amherst's recipe for, 152.  
 Stanwix, John, 93.  
 Stark, John, Captain, 126.

St. Francis, Indian village, 168; attack on, by Major Robert Rogers, ordered, 168.  
 Stobo, Robert, Captain, 128.  
 St. Josephs surprised by Indians, 316.  
 St. Lawrence, descent of, by Amherst's army, 230—245.

## T.

Townshend, Hon. George, 3.  
 Townshend, Roger, Colonel, 138; death of, 145.  
 Tute, James, of Rogers' Rangers, 157.

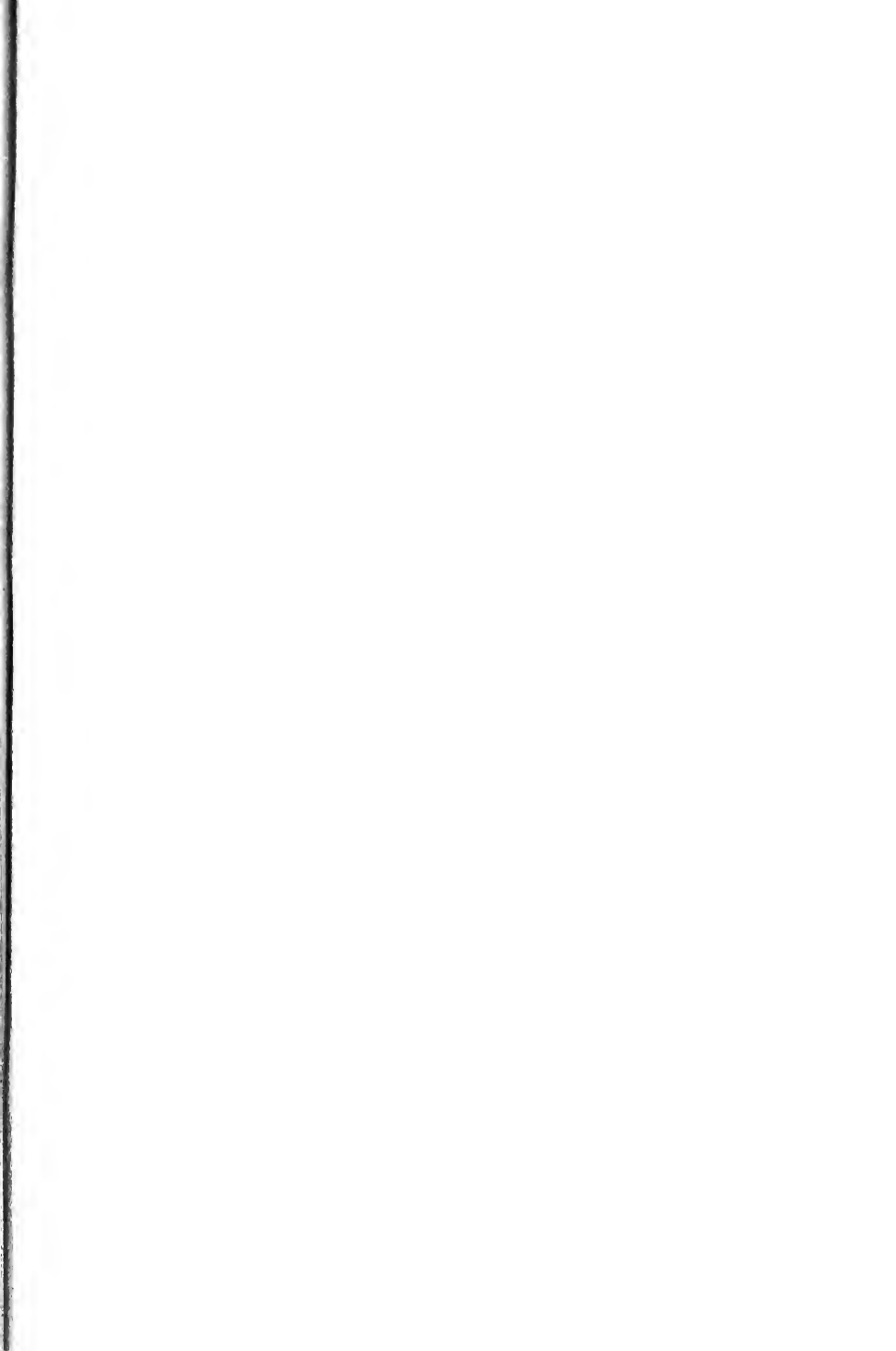
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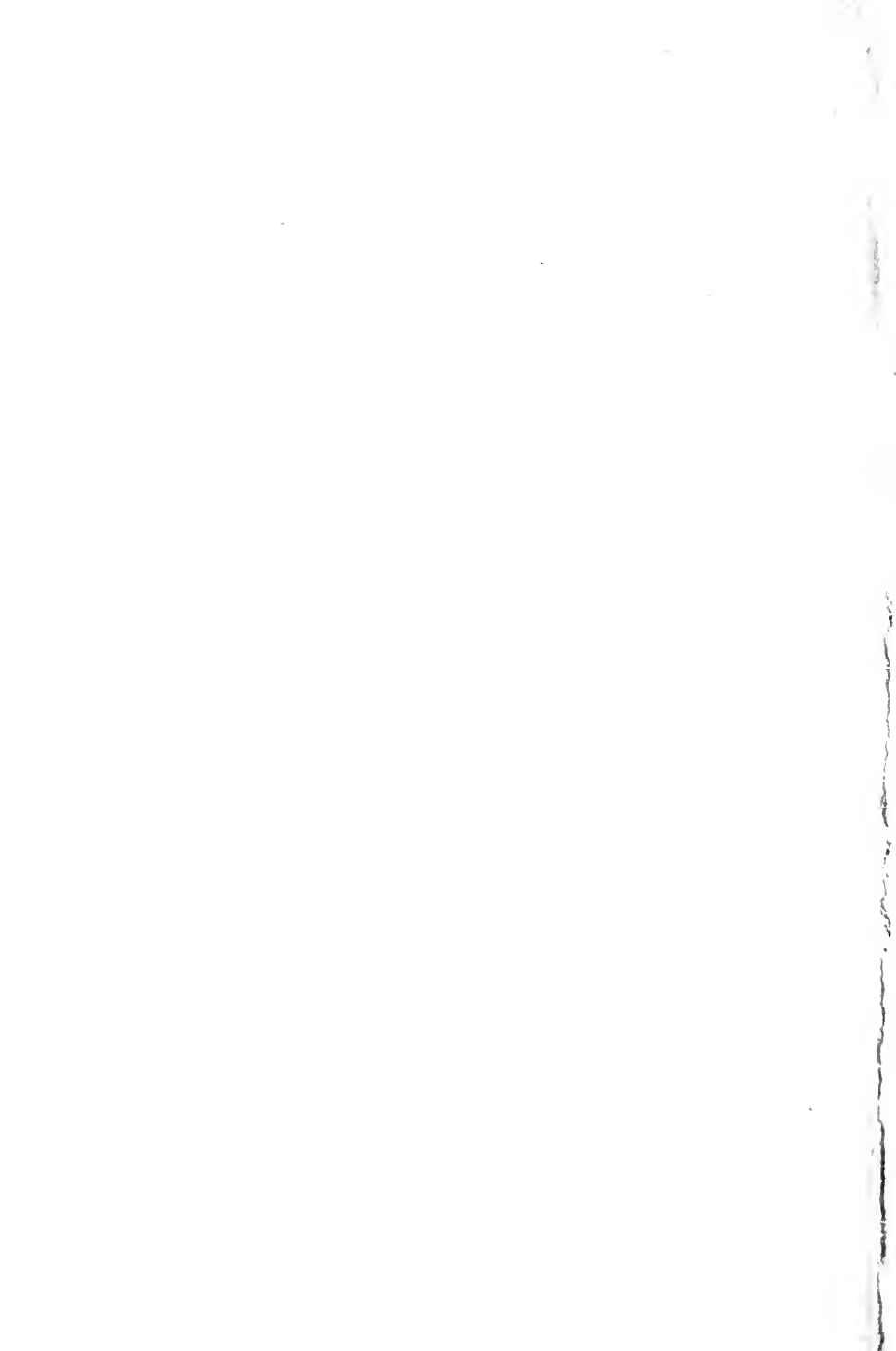
Whiting, Nathaniel, Colonel, 189.  
 Whitmore, Edward, Brig.-General, 8; at Louisbourg, 49, 63; drowned at Plymouth, 276.  
 Willard, Abijah, Lieut.-Col., 123.  
 Williamson, George, R.A., at Louisbourg, 51.  
 Willyamos, Samuel, Captain, 221.  
 Wolfe, James, selected, by Pitt for Louisbourg campaign, 6; relations with Amherst, 10; at Louisbourg, 9, 49, 51, 57.  
 Wooster, David, Colonel, 122.  
 Wraxall's estimate of Amherst, 25.

## V.

Vaudreuil, M. de, proposes a cessation of arms, 246; agrees to sign Amherst's Articles, 246.  
 Venango, fall of, 310.







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